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THE PROBLEM OF LUTHERAN UNION.

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I.

THE rapid growth of the Lutheran Church in America has naturally excited some interest in its history, present condition, and future outlook, even among those beyond its own limits. A striking proof of this is given by a pamphlet of fifty-one closely printed pages (Bulletin 152) of statistics published by the Census Bureau. Another proof is found in the fact that this magazine not only opened its pages in the April number to a long article concerning "The Grounds of Lutheran Dissension in this Country," but has also requested that the same subject be treated from a different standpoint from that of the author of that article.

From 1880-90 the ratio of increase in Lutheran communicants was 65 per cent, or over 20 per cent in excess of the denomination ranking next in growth. Every fourteen or fifteen years the Lutheran Church, with considerable regularity, has been doubling itself. It has been very common to regard it a purely foreign Church which could hold its people only as long as they continued to worship in the language of their fathers. Some of her own sons have thought that it was possible to secure a permanent abode for this communion only by surrendering some of the distinctive features of the Lutheran Church as historically known. The student familiar with the Lutheran Church in Europe was apt to be confused when he came to examine its American descendant, as modified and colored by surrounding influences. In the nature of the case, it could not attain any wide and enduring influence, or even command respect as long as it was content to be ashamed of its own individuality and a servile imitator of others. What might have been the result if the plant introduced in colonial days

had been left by itself we cannot divine. But the connection with the mother churches was not so readily broken. Wave after wave of emigration brought more and more humble but devout German and Scandinavian Lutherans to these shores. They came well drilled in the Bible and Luther's Catechism, able to give an answer to those who asked a reason for their faith, and to discriminate between those who were faithful and who were unfaithful to the Lutheran Confession. With little ostentation they assembled in congregations, at first bringing their own pastors or importing them from Europe, and at length gradually providing for the perpetuation of a ministry from their own midst. They founded colleges and flourishing theological schools. Homes for the orphans and aged, hospitals and deaconess's institutions sprang up. They grew from distinct centres, isolated not only from other churches, but, in great measure, from one another until, as they began to change their languages and nationalities, the proportions of this communion, whose unity rests entirely in oneness of faith, became apparent. When the many sources whence the Lutheran Church in America has originated are kept in mind, the fact that her synods have gathered about only three or four centres, instead of many more, is a proof of the firmness of that bond of unity which holds together all her true members. When the various Lutheran countries in Europe that have furnished contributions to this large communion are recalled, and the fact receives its due weight, that, from the beginning of the Reformation, every small state or free city had its own Church Constitution, and in a number of cases its own peculiar Confession, the lack of as thorough and complete organization as characterizes the Presbyterian and Episcopal bodies should not be

the ground either of discouragement or reproach. Besides, Lutheranism from the very outstart laid emphasis upon the principle that oneness of church organization was altogether a secondary consideration. As the necessary consequence of her fundamental doctrine of justification by faith alone, she identifies the Church, in the true sense of the term, with "the communion of saints" or "congregation of believers," which extends above and beyond and beneath all the limitations of any external society. An external organization is to be esteemed and used only in so far as it promotes greater efficiency in the advancement of this communion of saints. Any thoroughly organized ecclesiastical government, with gradations of offices, culminating in one grand central Head, the Lutheran Reformation taught was to be recognized and obeyed only in so far as it promoted pureness of teaching, and was unhesitatingly to be abandoned whenever found inexpedient for such purpose. Diversity of organization was not regarded as interfering with the unity of the Church, which was "the fellowship of the Holy Spirit in hearts,"* and, so far as possible, was made visible, not by like ceremonies, traditions, rules, and regulations, but by "agreement concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments."† In Dakota and Manitoba there exists one of our most recently formed synods, that stands thus far in entire independence of other Lutheran bodies. It is composed of over seven thousand Icelanders. For the present they have a peculiar work to perform; and for them it would be inexpedient, without a thorough knowledge of the historical relations of the several general bodies, to unite with any of them. But this in nowise breaks or interferes with unity of the faith, or makes their isolation a silent protest against their brethren. Ministers in the United Synod of the South, in the Joint Synod of Ohio, in the Norwegian Conference, and in the General Council having the same faith and uniting in the same Confession are not arrayed against each other because the time and occasion have not yet arrived when, for expediency's sake, a closer bond of outward union may be practicable. The General Synod is almost entirely English in language, the Synodical Conference almost entirely German, while the General Council almost equally includes German, English, and Swedish-speaking elements. In the nature of the case, a diversity of such nature may render the existence of distinct

lines of development, adapted to the varied experiences and necessities, desirable long after a diversity in the faith has disappeared. The Synodical Conference, with many thousands outside of it, represents Lutheran emigrants almost entirely of the last fifty years. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh and English Ohio Synods of the General Council, together with the General Synod and the United Synod of the South, represent in large measure the descendants of those who emigrated during the last century. Those who have only recently entered this field cannot be expected to be immediately intelligent and efficient co-laborers with those who have been toiling within it for many generations; nor would it imply any want of charity or any denial of fraternal regard if the one should insist that sufficient time must be given for the other to learn the lessons for which such a heavy price has been paid before there can be a complete transfer to an equal share in all privileges and responsibilities. Unity in the faith, and complete unity, even in the confession of the faith, do not inevitably tend to an immediate union "in one grand body."

Nor should it be forgotten that, in this respect, the Lutheran Church in America has only followed in the footsteps of the Apostolic Church. The New Testament records may be searched in vain for any trace of any "one grand body" in which the scattered congregations were united, except the spiritual body of Christ, consisting of all believers, without relation to external connections (1 Cor. xii. 12). The community of interests was maintained by the possession of "like precious faith," and the indwelling and effectual working of the same Holy Spirit. Peculiar emergencies called forth combined efforts and united counsels to meet common dangers and provide for common wants. There was an interchange of fraternal offices as their members moved from place to place, or as local necessities could be relieved from a distance. The origination of the constitution of the Church as a confederacy of local congregations belonged to post-apostolic times—i.e., the form of government was an accident, determined by peculiar relations, and not barring from the communion of the Church congregations that, under dissimilar circumstances, were not included in the same organization.

II.

While union in one general organization is, therefore, a matter of secondary importance, there can be no question as to the

* *Apology of Augsburg Confession*, chap. iv., § 5.
† *Augsburg Confession*, art. vii.

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great desirability that all Lutherans in America should come to a common understanding, and co-operate, so far as possible, in all forms of church work. If the great cause which all represent can be served better by several independent bodies than by a single body, in which misunderstandings would constantly arise that would hamper the Church in aggressive work, every occasion should be taken to prevent any clashing of interests between these several bodies. Men may learn to know and esteem each other, and render to each other important offices without necessarily belonging to the same ecclesiastical body. Such understanding is certainly not promoted by any other means than by the most open and candid examination of the real points of difference and the endeavor to judge them in all fairness and charity. At the basis of every church organization there lies a confession of faith. The confession is a contract or article of agreement between the parties comprehended in the union, defining their understanding of the faith of God's Word on certain points that have been involved in controversy. It is a solemn pledge and guarantee of the terms upon which they have united, and of the conditions upon whose mutual fulfilment in all fidelity the contract is binding. Like all other contracts, the terms employed must be unambiguous, or the design of the contract is frustrated. Parties cannot agree to allow the same contract to be interpreted in several senses without invalidating the contract. Where differences may occur in understanding and interpreting the contract there must be some provision admitted for a restatement and definition of its true meaning. To accept the Augsburg Confession alone as the only possible mode of correctly formulating the faith of the Lutheran Church in a confessional statement, to hold that such Confession may be interpreted at pleasure in different senses to suit the faith or fancy of the person who subscribes it, and to attack every effort made to define its faith so as to avoid misunderstandings among those who, while differing in faith, alike profess to hold to it, is to elevate the form of the Confession above its contents. It is union—not upon the Augsburg Confession, but upon the *doctrines* of the Augsburg Confession—that determines the Lutheran character of any church. If it could so happen that the faith of the Augsburg Confession could be received without the Confession having been ever seen or subscribed, this would be enough to determine the Lutheranism of a man or

church. The Augsburg Confession, in its historical sense, is simply a true witness to the Lutheran faith, and that is all. It does not make the Lutheran faith; that faith has made the Confession. Because it is such a true witness with respect to the questions involved in controversy when the Reformation opened, it has become the fundamental and universal confession of the Lutheran faith. But it is not the only faithful witness to the Lutheran faith. This faith can just as readily, when the circumstances call for it, express itself in other words. There is no stagnation in the Christian life. Faith cannot be forced into iron-clad moulds so rigid as to prevent its continued expansion. Changed circumstances constantly require the restatement of old and approved dogmas. The substance of the faith does not change, but its form must constantly find new adaptations. New issues arise, starting questions which cannot be answered simply by a quotation from an excellent venerable formulary. The Church of every generation and every land has to answer with all clearness and explicitness the ever-shifting attacks of unbelief if it aim to be a true witness to God's Word. If need be, it will rejoice in reproducing the testimony of the old witnesses; but if the circumstances be such that another expression of the old faith be needed for a new emergency, the Church can find in Holy Scripture abundant material that has not been embodied in a doctrinal formulary. Let it never be forgotten that in Europe the Lutheran Church was a State Church, and that subscription to the Augsburg Confession was enforced by the civil authorities, even the Reformed, according to the provisions of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555,* confirmed by the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, enjoying freedom of worship solely upon the ground of their relation to the Augsburg Confession. When political emergencies rendered it expedient, the Augsburg Confession was freely signed by Reformed theologians and princes.† The motives were strong to justify any subscription whatever that could be given with the most liberal interpretation of its meaning. The Confession thus lost its place as a badge of the distinctive doctrines, which it had been supposed to be, unless it were supplemented by other documents, declaring its true meaning, as contrasted with

* After guaranteeing a free choice between the Roman Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession, the treaty continues: "All others, not belonging to the two religions above mentioned, are not included in this Peace, but entirely excluded therefrom." See the long extract of the treaty in foot-note, Gieseler's *Church History*, English translation, iv., 207 sq.

† Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, I., 235, 236.

such ambiguities. New controversies also arose that demanded settlement. The Augsburg Confession is the answer of the Lutheran Church concerning two classes of errors: first, those which had become prevalent in the mediæval Church, and which Rome was defending; and, secondly, those of the Anabaptists, Zwinglians, and others, which the Lutheran Church was falsely charged by the Roman doctors as maintaining. It makes no effort to set forth a system of doctrine. It enters into no discussion of questions that were not involved, either directly or indirectly, in the controversy with Rome. Most important topics were passed over, because upon them all the three Church parties that were represented at Augsburg were in entire agreement. If it had not been for Dr. John Eck's malignant "Four Hundred and Four Theses," which Melancthon found in circulation at Augsburg, it is very doubtful whether the doctrinal articles would have ever been formulated. The same faith which could draw replies from Holy Scripture to errors which it was then deemed best to meet, was just as able, when subsequently other errors arose among those who professed the Augsburg Confession, to again give forth its testimony. Why should the Lutheran Church of a later generation be forbidden to make a declaration concerning the subject of "Inspiration," or to demand a guarantee on that question from her professors of theology simply upon the plea that it had never been considered at Augsburg? Or why, when Agricola's Antinomian heresy—that the law was not to be preached to the regenerate—was revived, and taught by some who professed to be faithful Lutherans and subscribers to the Augsburg Confession, should the Lutheran Church have been hampered in declaring, before God and man, that such is not her doctrine, and in requiring every public teacher who asked for her endorsement to give the assurance that such should not be his teaching? Why, if a prominent champion of the Reformation in its earliest period, like Andrew Osiander, persisted, after repeated protests, in teaching a doctrine of justification which either practically led very far Romeward, or virtually denied the efficacy of the sufferings and death of Christ, was the Lutheran Church to be silent because of his close relations to the Augsburg Confession? Who can doubt if, at the time of its composition, Flacius, and Agricola, and Osiander, and Major, and Strigel, etc., had been already active in diffusing the opinions which they afterward propagated, but that the Confession

would have clearly declared that "the churches among us" do not so teach, and would have relieved our churches of the responsibility for such serious errors? The real issue here is a very simple one. It is this: "Is the Lutheran Church, from the year 1530 to the end of time, to be absolutely without any expression of opinion concerning any teacher who, either with or without qualifications, in some way or other manages to reconcile his conscience to a subscription to the Augsburg Confession, according to the most liberal sense in which he feels at liberty to interpret it?" Is any or every manifest errorist to be free to shield himself from condemnation upon the plea that he has subscribed the Augsburg Confession? Was the study of the Holy Scriptures and the Confession of its results to cease with the life of Melancthon? To maintain the necessity, under such emergencies, of still more explicit and ampler confessions, is not to discredit the Augsburg Confession, but only to be faithful to its own promise: "If anything be lacking in this Confession, we are prepared, God willing, to present ampler information."* If such "ampler information" add anything to the Augsburg Confession, it does so only as the Augsburg Confession itself adds something to the Bible—i.e., by applying its clear teachings to new relations. If, to secure political privileges, men would subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, while at the same time publicly protesting against some of its doctrines and freely attacking them, no one, surely, could blame those who were the consistent confessors of these doctrines if they proposed tests of real fidelity to the Confession that could be more accurately read than those of a mere general subscription. If "generic Lutheranism" be that which tolerates the antinomianism of Agricola, and the doctrine of justification by infused righteousness of Osiander, then certainly there was need of some means of guarding the true adherents and sincere subscribers to the Augsburg Confession from those whose subscription caused all other subscriptions to fall into discredit.

III.

The ampler confessions of the Lutheran Church have borne an important part in the development of the doctrine of the Lutheran Church. The scientific expression of the contents of the Lutheran faith had not become fixed at the time of the Diet of Augsburg. Its Apology, *e.g.*, shows that the

* Conclusion of Augsburg Confession, § 7.

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definition of a sacrament was not what it subsequently became, or what is recognized as the definition of the Lutheran Church, while regeneration and renovation were used synonymously. No writer on Symbolics restricts his material of Lutheran confessional statements to the Augsburg Confession, or ignores the more scientifically exact development in the Formula of Concord. No great Lutheran theologian is the advocate of the hypothesis that subscription to the Formula of Concord is a slur upon the Augsburg Confession. The renowned masterpieces of Lutheran theology were written by such subscribers of the Formula of Concord as Chemnitz and Gerhard, Hunnius and Hutter, Quenstedt and Calovius, Baier and Holzhaus, Buddeus and Walch. Every Lutheran writer who has ever vigorously defended the Augsburg Confession against its assailants and critics has been a faithful student and supporter of the Formula of Concord. If such men were greatly mistaken in their position, their convictions and teachings certainly deserve to be treated with respect. The names in the later history of the Lutheran Church that are most highly prized for the depth of their spirituality and their earnest efforts to promote practical Christianity are those of men who not only were willing to subscribe the Formula of Concord, but also insisted upon the importance of demanding such subscription of others:

John Arndt, in the Preface to the first book of his immortal devotional work, *True Christianity*, declares: "I affirm that this book is not to be understood in any other manner than in accordance with the symbolical books of the churches of the Augsburg Confession—namely, the first unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, the catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord." At the close of the second book of the same work he says: "I have had no other object in view than in connection with our pure religion and Confession of Faith as set forth in the Church of the Augsburg Confession, and repeated in the Formula of Concord (which I publicly and sincerely adopt, and in accordance with which I desire these writings of mine to be understood), purity and holiness of life might be promoted." In his preface to Book VI. he speaks of the evangelical doctrine having been cleansed of many errors "by means of two glorious and praiseworthy confessions of faith—namely, the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord," and afterward, "I call on the great God, the Searcher of hearts, as my

witness, that it was not in my mind, in anything which I have written, to depart from the true religion of the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord."

Philip Jacob Spener, the best representative of Lutheran pietism, published an especial treatise in defence of the Formula of Concord.* He maintains that its preparation and obligatory subscription were highly important: "1. Because of the adversaries of our Church, who did not know what was the real meaning of the Augsburg Confession. 2. To declare the teaching of the Lutheran Church on questions in reference to which there was controversy concerning the meaning of the Augsburg Confession." He shows at length: "1. The great distinction between the respect to be accorded Symbolical Books and that to be rendered the Holy Scriptures. 2. Symbolical Books are no rule of faith, but only a rule of doctrine. My faith is not determined by any Symbolical Book, but only by the clear testimony of Scripture; but the Symbolical Books contain the interpretation of Holy Scripture which those who have called me to the position of a public teacher understand me to hold, and upon this guarantee have pledged me to teach.† 3. They are not infallible; nor do all their statements have the perfection that is to be desired. They are the composition of men who could not foresee the future; and hence their words refer only to controversial aspects of doctrine then in view. If the godly men who composed them had foreseen the future, they sometimes would have modified the form of expression. Nevertheless, in all articles of faith *per se*, and in explicit decisions concerning controverted points, they are without error. 4. It was not the purpose of our theologians to write a perfect system of theology, but only, at a particular time, to explain the sound doctrine concerning controverted points. On this account the symbolical books are not intended to prevent all further growth in the knowledge and confession of Divine truth. 5. Our theologians should always be ready to argue from Holy Scripture with any honest doubter of the correctness of the statements of Holy Scripture, provided such doubt be expressed in a modest and inoffensive manner."

The Halle Faculty, including August Hermann Francke, through Dr. Joachim Lange, in the heat of the pietistic controversy, referring to the charges against Spener and his adherents of not holding to

* Found in his *Theologische Bedenken*, I., 341-94.

† This is sometimes otherwise expressed: *Scriptura Sancta docet credenda; Libri Symbolici docent credita.*

the Symbolical Books, say: "In their replies they showed in the most thorough manner that they held with absolute firmness to them,"* and declare concerning their own position: "The Symbolical Books are held in high honor; and it would be difficult to find a university where they are more diligently read, referred to, quoted, and recommended to the students than here in Halle."†

These citations are made in order to show that among those who are regarded the representatives and leaders of the most liberal wing of sound Lutheranism, there was no difference concerning the authority of the Formula of Concord and the other Lutheran symbols that were supplementary to the Augsburg Confession. In the pietistic controversy the "orthodoxists," as they are sometimes called, claimed that Spener and his adherents were untrue to the Symbolical Books, but the latter indignantly resented the charge, pledging anew their fealty to them, and powerfully and discriminatingly arguing for their necessity.

"The symbolical authority of the Formula of Concord to the Lutheran Church as such," says Köllner,‡ "cannot, indeed, be doubted. It was received as the symbol of by far the greater number of those who regard themselves as belonging thereto. And, as the Elector Augustus says, since there is no pope among us, can there be any other means than a majority to sanction a symbol? Besides, it must be kept prominently in mind that the greater part of those who did not accept it were not actuated by dogmatical considerations, but partly by political considerations, either freely or compulsorily, partly by faithful dependence upon Melancthon, partly by wounded ambition, because they were not invited sufficiently early to participate in its formulation, partly also because in one country while those who had most influence inclined to Calvinistic doctrine, the majority of the teachers were in doctrinal harmony with the Formula. Nothing whatever can be inferred from this failure to endorse the Formula as to a departure from its dogmas."

IV.

The foundations of the Lutheran Church in America were laid by those who were pledged to the entire Book of Concord. If an exception be urged in the case of the Swedes, we find that the Swedish Church

adopted it in 1647, very shortly after the first Swedish emigrants came to this country, and made it binding by the ecclesiastical law of 1686. The founders of the Lutheran Church in the South, the exiled Salzburger in Georgia, who had proved their faith in the fires of persecution, began their first congregational constitution: "In the name of God. The fundamental constitution, articles and rules, upon which a German Evangelical Lutheran congregation was formally established upon the basis of the Holy Bible, our Augsburg Confession (and the other Symbolical Books) since the year 1733."* They provided for a regular procedure against any preacher or teacher who should disseminate "doctrines conflicting with the basis of the apostles and prophets in the Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testaments, and opposed to our Augsburg Confession (and other Symbolical Books)."[†] Muhlenberg had subscribed to the entire Book of Concord at his ordination, and faithfully embodied the recognition of all the Symbolical Books in various important acts. On the day that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was organized (1748), St. Michael's Church was consecrated by him in the presence of the synod as a place where the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine should be taught "according to the unaltered Augsburg Confession and all the other Symbolical Books."[‡] Rev. J. Nicholas Kurtz was ordained the same day, and pledged to "our Confessions."[§] In the ordination certificate of Rev. J. C. Leps, signed by Muhlenberg as President of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, July 20th, 1774, it is stated that as a condition of his ordination Mr. Leps had solemnly promised that he would teach according to the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the catechisms of Luther, "and the other Symbolical Books."^{||} In a statement made before the Synod on a very critical occasion, Muhlenberg declared: "I defy Satan and all the lying spirits who serve him to prove against me anything in conflict with the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and of our Symbolical Books. I have often and again said and written that I have found in our evangelical doctrine, founded on the apostles and prophets, and set forth in our Symbolical Books, neither error, fault, nor anything wanting."[¶]

The question, therefore, which Lutherans of to-day are called upon to decide is,

* Strobel's *History of the Salzburger*, p. 94.

† *Ib.*, p. 170.

‡ *Halle'sche Nachrichten*, p. 285.

§ *Dr. Munn's Life of Muhlenberg*, p. 210.

|| *Lutheran Church Review*, x., 166.

¶ *Ib.*, vi., 200.

* *Apologetische Erläuterung der Neuesten Historie, bey der Evangelischen Kirche von 1689 bis 1719.* Halle, 1719, p. 65.

† *Ib.*, pp. 447 sq.

‡ *Symbolik*, I., 581.

Whether the confessional basis of Arndt, and Spener, and Francke, and Muhlenberg be too narrow, or should it be broadened to meet the demands of a more liberal age? Did Muhlenberg err in the doctrinal basis which he laid down for those over whom Providence had placed him? Is it impossible or not to unite the Lutheran Church in America upon its original foundation? When an era of relative indifference had overlooked the necessity of any confessional basis whatever, was the endorsement of the Augsburg Confession as a doctrinal standard sufficient without recurring to the entire platform prescribed by the fathers of the Church from Halle, and adopted by the large majority of Lutherans in Europe before the entrance of rationalism? In other words, could the Lutheran Church in America ever so isolate itself from the Lutheran Church in Europe as to ignore all its history after the Diet of Augsburg? Could it remain unaffected by the questions which had been settled in the controversies decided by the Formula of Concord? Or, if it could remain isolated, would not history inevitably repeat itself, and when subscription of some form or other to the Augsburg Confession failed to indicate that teachers actually received its doctrines, would not new tests of adherence to the Augsburg Confession become necessary, or the entire development of the Church be thrown into confusion? What better tests could, then, be found than those which the Lutheran Church had already provided? Besides, what is separatistic or sectarian Lutheranism but that which deserts the historical development of the Lutheran faith? Where do the greater hopes of union lie—upon a basis not only approved by the largest number of Lutherans in the purest period of the Church, and, at present, formally acknowledged by five sixths of Lutherans in America, or, upon one which openly proclaims itself antagonistic to the former? The subscription to the Augsburg Confession might be sufficient where its doctrines were cordially embraced, and the ampler confessions which have done such heroic service in the defence and maintenance of the Augsburg Confession were not attacked and decried. But the circumstances which determined the preparation of the ampler confessions have reappeared in America; and, even though we should attempt to prevent the more specific definitions, the demands of the life and faith of our Church at this advanced period would force us to this course, even against our will.

V.

This brings us to some charges against the Formula of Concord which have been recently made in an article in the April number of this magazine. Chemnitz and Gerhard, Arndt and Spener, Francke and Muhlenberg, with many thousands of other faithful students and adherents of the Augsburg Confession, in their simplicity regarded the Formula of Concord as a true interpretation and defence of its doctrines. Dr. J. W. Richard has discovered and tries to prove their great error. He says that the Formula "introduces several articles which have no place in the Augsburg Confession." He instances:

1. "The Third Use of the Law, which is Connected with the Antinomian Controversy." The facts are that Agricola was a subscriber to the Augsburg Confession, and yet obstinately maintained that the regenerate were under no obligation to obey God's law, and that those who taught the contrary had not the faith of the Gospel. What inconsistency with the Augsburg Confession to declare that such a teacher had no right to claim to stand upon its doctrine! Cannot Dr. Richard see that where the eternal authority of God's law is undermined, the Augsburg Confession and all Holy Scripture are overthrown?

2. "Christ's Descent into Hell" (not "Hades"). This article is only a statement that the descent belonged to the victory of Christ, and that there should be no further controversy concerning a subject on which so little is revealed. The sermon of Luther at Torgau is not made confessional, as Dr. Richard asserts, but is referred to only as teaching that this belonged to Christ's victory. The only confessional element here expresses merely what can be clearly inferred from the construction of the sentence concerning the "Descent" in Article III. of the Augsburg Confession.

3. The article on "Church Usages and Ceremonies" Dr. Richard endorses, but says that it is embodied fundamentally in the Augsburg Confession. He is correct; but why should this be cited as a proof that "it has no place in the Augsburg Confession"? If it is "embodied fundamentally," it certainly "has place" there. The significance of the article lies in the fact that men who subscribed Article XV. of the Confession were inconsistent with their profession, and their inconsistency necessitated this ampler statement.

4. "Foreknowledge and Election." This

article was intended, not to introduce, but to guard against, controversies on the subject, explicitly stating that there was no serious dispute on the subject in our churches. The Lutheran Church owes the framers of the Formula of Concord eternal thanks for this able, profound, clear, devout, and moderate statement which has so effectually promoted the peace of the Church on this question. That there have been controversies since is not due to this article, but to the fact that men want to penetrate the Divine mysteries, and to speculate upon what God has not revealed.

Dr. Richard cites also several articles which he objects to, because they are too scholastic and particularistic, and give confessional character to the views of individuals, etc. On the subject of "Oral Manducation" he misunderstands both the Formula of Concord and Dr. Krauth. In all fairness he should have stated what the Formula means by "Oral Manducation," and how explicitly it guards the doctrine against grossly carnal conceptions. Hear it: "We hereby utterly condemn the Capernaitic manducation of the body of Christ, which the Sacramentarians, against the testimony of their conscience, after all our frequent protests, wilfully force upon us, and, in this way, make our doctrine odious to their hearers, as though His flesh were rent with the teeth and digested as other food."* He ends his quotation from the *Conservative Reformation* before reaching the important statement that "when the Formula of Concord and our theologians speak of a reception by the mouth, they speak, as we may, of the reception of the Holy Spirit in, with, and under the preached Word by the ear."† While the term "with the mouth" is not found in the Augsburg Confession, its meaning certainly is not that the body of Christ can be received in the Lord's Supper otherwise than by the mouth, even though this is carefully defined as occurring, not in a natural, but a supernatural manner. That the body of Christ is received by faith is certainly not the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession; for it is not to those who believe, but "to those who eat in the Lord's Supper" (*vescentibus in cæna Domini*), to whom, the Confession says, the body and blood of Christ are distributed. Does Dr. Richard, as a Lutheran professor, teach his students that in the Lord's Supper nothing is received with the mouth but bread and

wine? If the Formula makes use of severe terms in condemning its opponents on this article, the other side of the controversy should be read in order to see the opprobrious epithets applied by some writers to the Lutheran doctrine. Men like Andrea and Chemnitz would not in any way meet with harsh denunciation sincere and honest doubters, who refrained from perverting and deriding what the Lutheran Church regarded as a holy and Divine mystery. In the Preface to the Book of Concord the Lutheran theologians call God to witness that it is not their purpose to condemn entire churches, but only such persons as are "blasphemous against the truth of the heavenly doctrine," "only obstinate and blasphemous teachers." The Formula has in view such designations of the Lutheran doctrine used, we may hope, inconsiderately, by some vigorous combatants, as "*duos pilos caudæ equinæ*," "*commentum vel ipsum Satanam pudeat*," "*excrementum Satanae, quo diabolus sibi ipsi et hominibus illudat*."* Certainly it is no violation of charity to term those who apply such designations to what the Lutheran Church regards Divine truth "fanatics!"

With the most dogmatical positiveness Dr. Richard says that "it is historically certain that the doctrine of oral manducation could not have found place in the Augsburg Confession, since some of those who helped to compose the Confession did not hold to the oral partaking of the body and blood of Christ, nor the partaking of the same by unbelievers, as witness the *Swabian Syngramma*, which even Luther endorsed with two laudatory prefaces." If our readers will procure Vol. XX.† of the St. Louis reprint of Luther's works (published 1890), they will find the German translation of this work, composed by John Brentz in 1525, with Luther's Prefaces. They may search in vain for any such statements, however sentences separated from their connection might at first sight so appear. It is an answer, in the most calm and irenic spirit, by Brentz to a brochure of his intimate friend Ecolampadius. He plants himself, for argument's sake, upon the concessions of Ecolampadius, and shows how a consistent carrying out to their conclusion of the premises of what we now know, as the Calvinistic view, must lead to the conviction that in the Lord's Supper the true body and blood of Christ are really and not merely significantly present. With great art Brentz

* *Formula of Concord Epitome*, vii., 42.
† *Conservative Reformation*, p. 463.

* *Formula of Concord, Solida Declaratio*, vii., 67.
† Pp. 531-74.

takes his friend by the hand and leads him, step by step, toward his position :

"As faith has God present, when it believes in God, so when it eats" [namely, according to what [Ecolampadius holds] "the body and drinks the blood—i.e., when it believes, must it have the body and blood present." * The next stage in the argument is: "If the Word offers us the body and blood as present, what hinders that same Word from bringing to the bread what it contains in itself?" † "The bread, inasmuch as it has the Word, is the Lord's body." ‡ "As the Word of God makes the gifts of God present, so by the Word 'This is My body,' the body of Christ is present and administered." § "We are certain that the bread in the Holy Supper is not merely a sign, but in fact the true bodily body of Christ (*wahre, leibliche Leib Christi*)." ¶ "As the Word sanctifies believers, so does the body; and as the Word profanes and defiles the godless, so the body of Christ defiles the godless who eat." ¶

So much for Dr. Richard's historical certainty. With far more plausibility he might say that it is historically certain that a condemnation of transubstantiation in the Augsburg Confession would have been impossible, because some of these expressions of the *Syngramma* are not as accurately guarded as became afterward necessary in the controversy with Rome, and, to any one not understanding the connection and relations, might actually seem to teach transubstantiation. Where there is no difference in the doctrine taught, its expression varies according to its adversaries, and, in the formative period of the Reformation, qualifications and limitations afterward found necessary to maintain against misunderstanding what the Reformers taught were not immediately introduced. The doctrine of the addition of the various exclusive particles to justification by faith will supply an apt illustration.

One who thoroughly accepts the declaration of our Catechism, "I believe that I cannot, by my own reason or strength, believe in Jesus Christ my Lord, or come to Him," or the stanza of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* so prominently cited and endorsed at the close of Art. XX. of the Augsburg Confession,

"Sine tuo numine,
Nihil est in homine,
Nihil est innoxium,"

should have no difficulty with the Formula's declaration that man can as little begin the work of grace in his heart as a block can move or a dead body arouse itself to life. The Augsburg Confession cites as the scriptural proof John xv. 5.

Another charge made against the Formula of Concord is that it teaches "the absolute

ubiquity of the human nature of Christ, thus predicating an infinite attribute of a finite nature." This is one of the very errors that the Formula of Concord explicitly rejects and condemns (Epitome, Chapter VIII., § 27, 28, 29). Especially § 29 condemns "that the human nature is locally extended in all places of heaven and earth, which should not be ascribed even to the divine nature." If the *Conservative Reformation* * had been consulted by the writer on this subject with as much interest as on some others, he would not have fallen into this error.

The manner in which Dr. Richard reached the conclusion that Melancthon rejected the *Communicatio Idomatium*—i.e., the doctrine that the human nature of Christ shared in the power, majesty and glory of the Divine, is not difficult to explain. He has come to it by a precipitate conclusion from the distinction which, after Luther's death, Melancthon made between a dialectic and a physical communication. It was charged against Melancthon that this was a virtual rejection of the doctrine; but he did not so understand it. The text of his *Loci*, on which Chemnitz comments, will prove a sufficient refutation, although he amply treats of it elsewhere, as in his explanation of the Nicene Creed. It is worthy of note, however, that Dr. Richard states that the fact that the Formula of Concord affirms the doctrine is one of the reasons why this Confession is not received by the General Synod. We hope not. Dr. Richard says that the Formula of Concord "ends by virtually deifying the human nature of Christ." The Formula of Concord, however, could not be clearer in its condemnation of any such doctrine. "We reject and condemn," it says, "as contrary to God's Word and our Christian faith the errors . . . that the human nature has become equal to and like the Divine nature in its substance and essence, or in its essential properties" (Epitome, VIII., 28). Nor is he more fortunate in his charge that the Formula gives symbolical authority to the Kryptism of Brentz. The crowning charge against it, however, is that it is not consistent with "a philosophy more fully imbued with the spirit of Protestantism," a philosophy having "a broader vision and clearer insight into the nature of man and being of God," "in harmony with the facts of consciousness and the teachings of revelation." If the Church's faith and Confession are to be determined according to the standards of varying systems of philosophy, or by Dorner's "Chris-

tian consciousness," we might as well cease forever to argue with Professor Richard. In matters of faith philosophy is ruled out. He may have his philosophy; we will abide by our Confessions, *Philosophia quærit veritatem; theologia invenit*. Professor Richard will find it more difficult to unite the Lutherans of America upon his advanced philosophical standpoint and his hypothesis of Christian consciousness than upon even the Formula of Concord.

Before leaving this portion of the subject, reference should be made to the numerous citations by which the article is adorned. We will be content with a single example. Dr. Luthardt, of Leipsic, is quoted against the Formula of Concord's statement of the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. We put Dr. Luthardt's remark and Professor Richard's use of it side by side:

Luthardt.

The christology of the Lutheran Church attempts to carry out its correct fundamental struction" and that such a view of the complete communion of the two natures in the one divinely human person by means of the doctrine of the *Communicatio Idiomatum*, which in the form of an abstract construction asserts an essential truth, and only, by not sufficiently extending the humiliation to the mode of being of the divine nature of Christ, is not completely in accordance with the historical reality of the earthly human life of Jesus Christ.

Richard.

Luthardt declares that it has "the form of an abstract construction" and that such a method of treatment does not sufficiently recognize the historical reality of the earthly human life of Jesus Christ.

The quotation, it will be noticed, suppresses the statement that the *Communicatio Idiomatum* asserts "an essential truth," and that it fails only, not in what it asserts, but in what the learned German theologian thinks it should have further defined.

Dr. Richard has not brought a single charge against the Formula of Concord worthy of any consideration; but he has afforded a candid statement of his own theological position: 1. Consciousness is a standard of theological truth; philosophy must be regarded in constructing and subscribing confessions of faith. 2. The human nature of Christ did not receive from the personal union any impartation of the power, glory and majesty of the Divine Nature; for this is involved in the denial of the *Communicatio Idiomatum*. 3. Human nature has the power, before the approach of the Holy Spirit, to begin the work of its return to God. It is not utterly dead in spiritual things. 4. The body of Christ in the Lord's Supper is received only by faith; the mouth receiving nothing but bread and wine. All these positions are contained in his charges. We regret that in attacking

the Formula of Concord, "that grandest monument of Lutheran symbolism," as Dr. A. A. Hodge has called it,* Dr. Richard has wandered so far from the Augsburg Confession.

VI.

But it is objected that even subscription to the full body of the Lutheran Confessions does not assure harmony. Lutheran bodies that agree in the recognition of them all, we are told, have not succeeded in entering into a union. Long and bitter controversies have arisen and continue to exist even among those who agree in receiving the Formula of Concord. Some, we are reminded, accept everything contained in the confessions as of symbolical authority, while others regard only those statements of doctrine which were involved in dispute, and for which the particular symbol brought a declaration concerning the controversy.

We ask, however, has there been any more harmony among those who profess to accept only the Augsburg Confession, and who are occupied with such questions as to whether only the doctrinal articles or the articles on abuses also are confessional; whether the Augsburg Confession simply contains the fundamental doctrines of God's word; or whether its doctrinal statements are the fundamental doctrines; whether by defining them as "fundamental" it be meant that they are fundamental to the existence or to the integrity of Christianity; whether its statements are to be received by what is known as a *quia* subscription—i.e., because they teach God's Word, or by a *quatenus* subscription—i.e., in so far as they teach God's Word; absolutely and *per se*, or only in so far as the Augsburg Confession represents the *consensus* of Protestant churches, or the "philosophy" with the "broader vision" and "clearer insight" "into the being of God"? In spite of the fact that Professor Richard's own body subscribes only to the Augsburg Confession, it certainly is as full of dissensions as any of the Lutheran bodies in

* "The result was the triumph of the stricter party, who left to posterity that grandest monument of Lutheran symbolism, the *Formula Concordiæ* (1580). The system here presented agrees in all its deeper positions with Calvinism as presented in this paper. It differs from it (a) by making the sacrament of baptism the efficient means by which ordinarily regeneration is effected; (b) by making the difference between the saved and the lost to be ultimately determined by the 'non-resistance' to grace of the former, in contrast with the resistance of the latter. In all other respects, as to the guilt, pollution and helplessness of the condition in which all children are born, as to justification and the necessity and the efficacy of regenerating and sanctifying grace, it is one with Calvinism" (Dr. A. A. Hodge, in *Johnson's Cyclopædia*, article "Calvinism"). We cite this not in approval of the entire statement, but to show how the Formula commended itself to such a learned and unprejudiced scholar as the late distinguished Princeton Professor.

this country, and these dissensions are by no means allayed in the various institutions where he has taught. Union of all Lutherans in America on the basis of the General Synod would by no means insure the peace of that body. The argument is the same as Bossuet has urged with so much force and plausibility in his renowned work on "*The Variations of Protestantism*," as a sufficient proof of the validity of the claims of the Roman Church. It is the same that scepticism is always urging against Christianity, because of the divisions among Christian people. Christianity unites only by separating. Christ came to bring permanent peace, only, according to His own clear words, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." The Augsburg Confession was intended not only to unite, but to separate. It was to separate those who held what its subscribers regarded the teachings of the Divine Word from those who taught otherwise. When the Augsburg Confession is so subscribed as to fail to make the separation for which it was intended, then other means of union through separation become necessary. The entire progress of the doctrinal development of the entire Christian Church has occurred in this way. Even the Formula of Concord may be subscribed in the same manner that some subscribe the Augsburg Confession. There is no formulary possible, however clear and specific its statements, which will not be evaded when other interests than supreme devotion to the doctrine there taught may enter. But this by no means relieves the Church of the duty of letting her testimony be known, or justifies her in rejecting the testimony, of whose truth she is convinced, which a preceding age has borne.

What if it do occasion controversy? So did Christianity. There are worse things in the world than controversy. A state of the Church in which there is no agitation concerning doctrine is either one of a very low degree of spiritual earnestness or of prevailing mental inactivity. We do not admire the utter fossilization of the Greek Church. We cannot look back with pride to what Professor Richard is pleased to term the "rationalistic" period of our Church in this country, when it laid far less emphasis on confessional limitations than the General Synod does to-day, or even a half century ago. The leaders of our Church of those days were not rationalists, but they were only thoroughly pervaded by that doctrinal indifferentism our friend regards so desir-

able. The peace of the Church, they thought, could be best insured by being silent even concerning the Augsburg Confession. There were those among them who would have spoken of "the divisive influence of the Augsburg Confession" as he does of "the divisive influence of the Formula of Concord."

Nor was it the aim of the Formula of Concord to stifle all further discussion. They have not read Lutheran theology aright who imagine that there are no open questions, or that, within certain clearly defined limits, differences of opinion are unallowable. That there have been some literalists, who have interpreted the Formula from a legalistic standpoint, has been the result of a very natural reaction among those who have seen clearly whither indifferentism leads. That there have been many who have viewed the Formula externally, and have claimed for it such rigidity, is due to their desire to overthrow it entirely as a confession. The office of the Formula, however, as a rule, as Spener says, not of the faith, but of the doctrine of our preachers and teachers, is simply to state what the Church has fixed, to define the limits within which discussions are permissible, and to relegate the rest to the sphere of the mere private opinions of teachers. The doctrines of our faith are suprarational. As doctrine is compared with doctrine, nothing is easier than to draw logical inferences concerning what belongs to a supra-logical sphere. Theologians both correct in their premises, starting from one or the other side of a mutually recognized dogma, may very readily be entangled in antagonistic results, as they fail to stop short in their conclusions of what God has revealed. The Formula of Concord affords a firm basis of what is firmly established, and dare not be questioned by one who accepts a ministerial office in the Lutheran Church; and then, on this clear understanding, allows enough liberty for ample discussions. Dr. Richard's own article will furnish ample illustrations of this moderation of the Formula that all his assertions to the contrary do not disprove. This assuredly is no defect of the Formula. It simply answers the question in the opening sentence of his article: "Why are not all the Lutherans in this country united in one grand body, with generous concessions for individual differences of opinion, and with suitable provision for the use of various languages," by indicating that that is precisely what may be accomplished if all will only stand upon the basis which Muhlenberg brought with him from Halle, and upon

which Arndt and Spener stood and fought against opponents from both sides. *

But a Church without dissensions we do not expect until the Church Militant passes over entirely to the Church Triumphant. There will be no Confession so clear and precise, nor organization so admirable that will prevent any communion from constantly finding the experience of the church at Ephesus (Acts xx. 30) repeated in its history: "Of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." "The church of God which is at Corinth, the called saints" (1 Cor. i. 2), rent by factions and stained by gross sins against which a stricter discipline should have guarded, is an image of the Church of God of all times until the complete fruition of its redemption, when it at last will be without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, a glorious Church (Eph. v. 27). Clear and distinct as must be our testimony, faithful our warning against error, earnest and aggressive our constant effort to maintain purity of doctrine and holiness of life, we must be content to struggle on beneath the cross, the constant subjects of misrepresentation from within and misunderstanding from without. If such were not our lot, we might well doubt the truth of our Christian profession. The remedy for our divisions is not to lower the standards of our faith in order to adapt them to the spirit of the times or the clamors of a worldly Christianity, but to maintain them at all hazards. Nor can anything be gained by any attempt to combine into one body those who can work separately with far more freedom, with less interference with each other's efforts, and far less friction, than if, without entire harmony of spirit, they should be forced into the same organization. Nevertheless, something could be accomplished toward a common understanding. There is entire agreement that the acceptance of all the *doctrines* of the Augsburg Confession is a sufficient standard of Lutheran character. Why, without regard even to synodical relations, could there not be frequent conferences among those who claim to stand on this common platform? Why should we not come together, not to indulge in acrimonious discussions, but, *sine ira et studio*, to state what we understand each other as teaching, and the grounds of our differences, to accept all sufficient explanations, and to reach a *modus vivendi* which, even though it may long defer organic union, may foster mutual respect and promote mutual efficiency in saving souls and edifying believers? Let us not avoid in social inter-

course controverted points as forbidden themes, but with a high regard for those from whom we are separated seek, according to the scriptural method (Matt. xviii. 15, 16), to learn to know what is really involved. Why could not the various theological faculties have occasional meetings in which their members would look into each other's eyes, as they discussed the several articles of the Augsburg Confession or other questions closely connected with them, instead of maintaining a warfare at long range, and before those not especially interested in the subjects of contention, except as they may serve to throw the entire communion into disrepute?

"For that unity we entertain heartfelt pleasure and love; and this, on our part, we are sincerely anxious to advance according to our utmost power, by which his glory remains to God uninjured, nothing of the Divine truth of the Gospel is surrendered, no place is admitted for the least error, poor sinners are brought to true, genuine repentance, encouraged by faith, confirmed in new obedience, and thus justified and eternally saved alone through the sole merits of Christ." *

"May Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant the grace of his Holy Spirit, that we all may be one in him, and constantly abide in this Christian unity which is well pleasing to him. Amen." †

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

BY PROFESSOR W. SANDAY, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), April, 1892.

V. THE AUTHOR (*continued*).

My contention is that the author of the Fourth Gospel not only shows his Jewish origin by his knowledge of Palestinian topography, by the cast of his style, by his interpretation of Jewish names (a topic on which I have not enlarged, but which will be found excellently treated by Bishop Lightfoot), † by the frequency of his quotations from the Old Testament, and by the probability that in some of them he has been influenced by his acquaintance either with the original text or with the current Aramaic paraphrases,—but that more than this, his mind is really steeped in the Old

* *Formula of Concord, Sol. Decl.*, xi., 96.

† *Id.*, *Epitome*, xi., 23.

‡ *Expositor*, 1890, i. 17-19.

Testament, and that his leading ideas stand as much in a direct line with the Old Testament as those of St. Paul and St. Peter.

Here I am aware that I come to some extent into collision with Dr. Schürer, though he is clearly conscious of another side to the question besides that to which he seems himself to give the preference. He strikes a balance between the opposing arguments thus :—

"It cannot be questioned that the author of the Fourth Gospel has imbibed Greek culture (ein Mann von griechischer Bildung war). And we may add that this culture was that of Hellenistic Judaism in the form in which it is specially represented by Philo. Can we assume this for the Apostle John? The opponents of the genuineness lay great stress on this head, pointing more particularly to the marked coincidences between the sphere of thought in our Gospel and the Philonian, e.g. in regard to the doctrine of the Logos. The Evangelist, they think, was trained in the Alexandrian philosophy, which could not be expected of the Apostle. The defenders begin by seeking to reduce the measure of Hellenic culture in our Evangelist as much as possible. Many deny broadly that our Evangelist was influenced by specifically Philonian ideas at all. Such a degree of Greek culture as the Evangelist really exhibits, they think that the Apostle John might have acquired in his later life among his Greek surroundings at Ephesus. The question therefore stands under this head pretty much as it does in regard to his anti-Jewish standpoint. Is it probable that the Apostle John in his later years should have undergone such a change? It is harder to answer this question in the affirmative in proportion to the degree of Hellenic culture which one is compelled to attribute to the Evangelist."*

My own position is one which Dr. Schürer would think a rather extreme one; it also marks what will be from his point of view a distinct retrogression. When I wrote on St. John twenty years ago, I went with the stream in conceding a decided influence of Philonian or at least Alexandrian philosophy. My present tendency is, if not absolutely to deny such influence, at least to reduce it within very narrow limits; to regard it as in any case extremely remote and indirect, and not comparable for a moment with the influence of the Old Testament.

I know that in forming this opinion some will think me actuated by an apologetic motive. I can only reply, that if that is so, I am not conscious of it; but that I have rather tried to exercise a certain watchfulness over myself; and that I have moved rather more slowly than I might otherwise have done. Since I wrote much of course has been published on this subject. Dr. Westcott's great commentary and the many solid works by Dr. B. Weiss (6th edition of Meyer's Commentary, 1880; *Biblische Theologie*, 4th edition, 1884; *Einleitung*, 1886),

who has always consistently rejected the Philonian theory, as well as Franke's *Das alte Testament bei Johannes*, have not been without their effect upon me. I will not however appeal to these, but will take one or two writers on Dr. Schürer's own side of the question to show that there is at least a rather strong set of the tide in the direction I have taken.

It has not been my fortune so far to speak with very great respect of Herr Thoma. The main body of his book I consider to be very wide of the mark. On the subject of topography, with which we were last dealing, he has notions which seem to me of a very airy texture indeed, and they come out in close juxtaposition to the passage I am going to quote: but that passage is so admirable, not merely for my present purpose, but as a real expression of the facts, that I have a peculiar pleasure in quoting it. It touches on some other points both before and behind that with which we are now dealing.

"This friendliness towards the Gentiles which the Evangelist shares with the Apostle [of the Gentiles] serves as little as his dislike of the Jews to prove his Gentile origin. On the contrary, his whole culture, the circle of ideas in which he is at home, the language which is familiar to him, point to a Jewish or Jewish-Christian origin.

"True, the Samaritan Justin has also a very good knowledge of Scripture. But the way in which he applies it shows that this knowledge has been acquired for learned and literary use in polemics and apologetics; it is rather an importation from without of foreign material which he has built into his walls. With the Evangelist, on the other hand, one sees that he has sucked in a Jewish way of thinking with his mother's milk, that from a child he has been fed upon the living bread of the Word of God, that from his youth up he has read the Holy Scriptures and steeped himself in their ideas, figures of speech, and words of expression, so that the reminiscences of them come out as if they were something of his own, rather an unconscious and spontaneous manner of thinking and speaking than as quotation and interpretation.

"Along with this he is acquainted with Jewish customs and usages, and that such as are not to be got from the Old Testament, or such as might impress themselves vividly and familiarly upon a spectator from observing the religious ceremonies of an alien society. He alludes impartially and with no great effort to such Jewish traditions and ideas as would only be possible to one who had himself been accustomed to move amongst Jews; indeed this perhaps is the reason which makes him forget here and there to put in explanations which, to a non-Jewish reader, would be quite indispensable to make him understand what was said.* On the other hand his explanatory notes on the manners and customs of the Jews may be accounted for by reference to Gentile readers on whom the author had to reckon, and probably did immediately reckon.

"But what tells more especially for Jewish ori-

* Vortrag, p. 60f.

* vii. 37f., 22f., xviii. 32, xix. 31; contrasted with xix. 41.

gin is the knowledge of Hebrew which the author displays. This knowledge is considerably greater than Justin's, who undertakes to give the meaning of a name here and there, badly enough; it is better than Philo's, who may perhaps have taken his interpretations from an *Onomasticon*.^{*} Because from the current version, to which both the Jewish and the Christian philosopher keep as a rule, there are found in the Gospel considerable divergences which appear to rest not upon a special improved translation of the Old Testament Scriptures, but upon a knowledge of the Hebrew text. What most directly points to a knowledge of Hebrew is the fact that the author not only is able to give a meaning and interpretation to names which he finds to his hand, or else (as in the case of Nathaniel) to express them by synonyms, but he even forms Aramaic words of his own like Bethesda."[†]

All this, except the last clause, seems to me first-rate in perception and appreciation; and I invite Dr. Schürer and those who agree with him to ask themselves if it is not strictly and emphatically true.

There is however another name which I have to quote, and to which I know that Dr. Schürer would listen with respect—that of his former colleague, Dr. Harnack. After saying that the origin of the Johannine writings is from the point of view of literature and doctrine the strangest enigma which the earliest history of Christianity has to offer, Dr. Harnack goes on:—

"To refer to Philo and Hellenism is by no means enough, inasmuch as they do not satisfactorily explain one external side of the problem. It is not Greek *theologoumena* which have been at work in the Johannine theology—even the Logos has in common with Philo's little more than the name—but from the ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists, under the impression made by the Person of Jesus, a new faith has arisen. For this very reason the author must undoubtedly and in spite of his emphatic anti-Judaism, be held to be a born Jew, and his theology Christiano-Palestinian."[‡]

This is from the first edition of the *Dogmengeschichte*: there are some significant alterations in the second edition in the direction of a greater agreement with Schürer. The most important is in the last sentence but one, which now reads, "out of the ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists the testimony of the Apostles to Christ created a new faith in one who lived among Greeks with disciples of Jesus." In other words, it is no longer the direct impression of the Person of Jesus, but the same impression conveyed mediately through the apostolic preaching. Otherwise the points most directly bearing upon our subject—the dismissal of Greek *theologoumena*, the Philonian Logos like only in name, and the "ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists"

—remain intact, except that the Christiano-Palestinian theology has dropped out. An instructive passage, if one was attempting to analyze the position of this extremely able and energetic writer, in whose mind however I cannot help thinking that a number of disparate propositions lie collected, which his many occupations have not left him time thoroughly to correlate and harmonize. As a final opinion then upon the whole question, I confess that I do not think it important, but as reflecting the impression made upon a candid and highly competent critic, its value is considerable.

Schürer has expressed his views on the relation of the Gospel to the Old Testament and Alexandrianism more fully in a review of Franke's work on the *Old Testament in St. John*.^{*} The article breathes all his usual moderation and care in judging. He rejects, I must needs think rightly, certain exaggerations into which Franke has been led.

"What Franke has proved, he says, is only this, that the Fourth Evangelist has held more firmly than Philo to the religious conceptions of the Old Testament; that he is far less influenced by Greek philosophy. But what reasonable person will deny this? For Franke's thesis, which denies all Alexandrianism straight away, nothing is gained."

To this I assent. But then Schürer goes on to show that his own contention in favour of Alexandrian influence is practically concentrated upon the doctrine of the Logos. He criticises, again I think rightly, Franke's attempt to depreciate the points of contact between Philo and the Gospel, by reducing them to a single point, the tendency "to conceive of the creative Word hypostatistically." I quite agree that that is a large matter and not a small one. But then I certainly think that in what follows Schürer in his turn has not done justice to the evidence which goes to show that this tendency to insert a personal or quasi-personal Being between God and the world was by no means confined to Philo or to Alexandria. We ought to allow in thought more than I suspect we do for the difference between the real distribution of facts and their apparent distribution on such evidence as happens to have come down to us. The writings of Philo are voluminous, and they have been preserved, possibly with some that are not his; and we do not know how much has been lost, especially in the fifty years which separate him from the Fourth Gospel, which might have suggested to the Evangelist similar ideas. Schürer, I feel convinced, is wrong in making light of the

^{*} *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, xxxii. 305ff.; Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 143f.

[†] *Die Genesis d. Johannes-Evangeliums*, pp. 786-788.

[‡] *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 66 (1st ed., 1896; p. 85, 2d ed., 1898).

^{*} *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung*, 1896, col. i. ff.

Targums. It may have been proved or rendered probable that the oldest extant Targum, the Targum (so called) of Onkelos, is not as we have it older than the third century. But within that there are I believe traces of an older substratum; and behind the written tradition there was an oral tradition which, from what we know of the Jews at this date, must have been conservative in its character. But apart altogether from the Targums we know that the tendency to which they gave expression by the introduction of the "Memra," was at work long before them. Traces of it are found in the oldest parts of the Septuagint. But it was no monopoly of Alexandria, but extended more or less all over the East. For the proof that St. John might have arrived at his conception of the Logos without any save the remotest influence from Philo, we need not go outside the New Testament. Harnack says that the Philonian Logos and the Johannean have nothing in common but the name. We may go a step farther and add that St. Paul's doctrine and St. John's have everything in common but the name. If St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Colossians, as I truly believe he did,* then St. John had a doctrine of the Logos ready made to his hand, and wanting only the name to make it complete. The Epistle to the Hebrews is another strong link in the chain. The substantial elements of the conception were all there. And we can well understand how almost any stray wind might blow in the direction of the Apostle, the one luminous word for which we may suppose him seeking.

The literary questions connected with the Apocalypse are of extreme difficulty, and in their present wholly unsettled state afford no argument either one way or the other bearing upon the genuineness of the Gospel. But in any case it is certain that the two works had their origin near each other; and the impressive revelation of the Word of God in Apoc. xix. 13 shows that the author of the Gospel must have had the conception very close to his hand.

It is difficult to believe that the Evangelist, whoever he was, had read a line of Philo. The difference between them is too fundamental. Philo is essentially a philosopher. His dominant interest is intellectual. It is true that he works in with this intellectual interest something of a moral and religious interest as well; but we

can see that his attention is engaged chiefly by the processes of thought, and his tendency is to express facts which might naturally have received a moral or religious interpretation in terms derived from those processes. His style and mode of treatment is florid and diffuse. All this is as different as possible from the Fourth Gospel. Here there is one absorbing interest, but its object is personal. It is the record of the Life of Jesus professedly (and does not the statement of the case almost constrain us to say, really?) by the disciple "whom Jesus loved." That fact is the centre round which all revolves. It carries with it no doubt far-reaching consequences—consequences for every individual who calls upon the same beloved name; consequences for the society which those individuals combine to form. And besides the external facts of the biography, there is a sense of something deeply mysterious in the Person of Him with whom it is concerned. The way in which He had spoken of Himself and of His Mission had linked both inseparably with the "ancient faith of Prophets and of Psalmists," and with their highest aspirations. When these were considered, when the new force which had been brought into society and the revolution it was effecting were considered, there seemed to emerge something not merely of local but of cosmical significance. An expression had to be found for that significance, and the Evangelist St. John, as we believe, hit upon the pregnant term Logos. It was already in the air; stray spores were flying about, and one of them was blown, as it were, across his path. It gave him just what he wanted. The keystone was dropped into the arch. There arose a system of thought, grandiose yet severely simple in its outlines. It would hardly be right to call it a philosophy. "These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in His name." That is not philosophical language.

Philo used, and used first, the same expression Logos, but its content was wholly different. With him the leading idea was Reason. The Logos of God was the active, creative Reason or Thought of God. With St. John the leading idea is Character and Will. The Logos of God is that agency through which, or the agent through whom, the Will of God expressed itself in the act of creation and in the conservation and energizing of things created. It is the agency by which, or the agent by whom, He has made known His will and character

* It is interesting to note that in the recently published *Hand-Commentar* (Freiburg i. B. 1891) von Soden, who had previously maintained the existence of some not lengthy but rather important interpolations in the Epistle to the Colossians, now accepts the whole as genuine.

to men both in previous ages and conspicuously in the coming of the Messiah.

When once the idea was grasped that Jesus of Nazareth was the Word or personal manifestation of the Godhead, it was natural that round this central idea other subordinate ideas should group themselves, especially those connected with manifestations of Divine energy in contact with men. Such foundation texts as these were taken: "With Thee is the fountain of life: in Thy light we shall see light" (Ps. xxxvi. 9); "O send out Thy light and Thy truth; let them lead me" (Ps. xliii. 3); in both of which there is an idea of emission or procession which when a personal organ had been found for the revelation readily attached them to it. Such I believe to be the Old Testament roots of the conception, "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men;" "grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." Parallels are found in Philo;* but the metaphors are too obvious and elementary for any stress to be laid upon them. In any case, I do not think there can be any doubt as to the origin in the Old Testament and in essentially Jewish soil of a number of other leading Johannean conceptions: the "tabernacling" of the Logos among men; the Divine glory or Shekinah; the Divine Name in its significant Jewish sense which occurs so often; the idea of "witness;" the idea of "signs;" the "water of life;" and, we may add, "the bread of life," with all that profound symbolism associated with it in chapter vi. The more closely the Gospel is studied, verse by verse from beginning to end, the more I feel sure will the reader rise up with the conviction that the base on which it primarily rests is the Old Testament. Many connections will come out on a closer study which do not lie upon the surface. One was pointed out to me lately† which I do not think I should have noticed, but which is very attractive when attention is called to it. It is well known what a leading idea with St. John is that of "lifting up" (*ὑψωθῆναι*) in connection with the Passion. The great mine of Christian thought in reference to the Passion is Isaiah liii.; but how is that passage introduced? "Behold My Servant . . . shall be exalted and extolled and be very high. As many were astonished at Thee," etc. (Isa. lii. 13 ff.). This "exalting" of the suffering Servant I believe to have given the hint to the stress

which is laid on the exaltation of the crucified Saviour in the Gospel.

Just one passage might give us pause in disclaiming a dependence of the Fourth Gospel on Philo, the strongest in my opinion of all those that are adduced to prove the point. Not only do we find in Philo the term Logos, but also another leading term with St. John, Paraclete. The word occurs in a curious passage, *Vit Mos.*, iii. 14. The high priest's dress is symbolical of the *cosmos*, his breastplate (*λογιον*) naturally symbolical of the Logos; it was necessary that he should take this with him as a "paraclete" into the holy place. There is no real affinity between this and St. John xiv., xvi., but the coincidence in the word is at first sight striking. The word "paraclete" was however far more common than we might suppose. It is a legal term apparently dating back to the Greek period. With its counterpart *κατήγορος* it is naturalized in the Talmud, and found even in the earliest treatise, the *Pirke Aboth*: the form *κατήγορ* comes back from Hebrew to Greek in the corrected text of Revelation xii. 10.* There was therefore clearly no need to travel to Alexandria in order to have this word suggested.

With this the last mainstay of the Alexandrianizing theory seems to go, and the crowd of arguments † from geography, style, manners and customs, relation to the Old Testament modes of thought, is left in all its full force, proving that the author of the Gospel was a Jew of Palestine, no mere "bird of passage," but one who was there born and bred, and who drew in from Palestine his habits of thought and speech as from his native soil.

But is it so clear that the author was a contemporary and eye-witness? No doubt this is a point which involves more delicate argumentation. Schürer does not deal directly with this; he seems to think that enough is said when it is shown that the Evangelist had access to a good tradition. Mr. Cross comes to close quarters, and he disputes at each step the validity of the inference.

Let us first consider what the argument is.

There was one moment in the history of the Church which when once it had passed did not return—the moment when the new faith was in the act of forming and bursting through the husk of the old. John the

* For instance, this is quoted from *Leg. Alleg.*, iii. 50, *τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη λαμπρότερον ἢ τὸ λαμπρύτερον θεῖον λόγον, ὃ κατὰ μετρίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν ἀχλὺν καὶ τὸν ὄμιον ἀπελαύνει, φωτὶς κοινωνήσας ψυχικοῦ γλῆχομενα* (Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 318).

† By Dr. C. A. Briggs, of New York.

* See especially the excellent *Excursus* on the word "Paraclete," by Archdeacon Watkins, in Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary for English Readers*.

† I do not repeat these arguments, which will be found in abundance in Westcott, Salmon, Watkins, Reynolds, Plummer, or any other commentary.

Baptist was a prophet like those of the old dispensation; he was looked upon askance by the ruling authorities of Jewish religion; they did not encourage his preaching; they suspected danger to themselves in the movement to which he gave the impulse; but there was nothing tangible which they could take hold of either to lay an interdict upon it or to threaten his person. The Prophet of Nazareth began in the same manner as His forerunner. He too preached repentance and the approach of the kingdom of heaven. Again there is evidence that from an early period the Pharisaic and hierarchical party had their suspicions aroused. But again there was nothing tangible for them to take hold of, and they were obliged to let the preaching take its course. Only by degrees did they attempt to check the freedom shown in the interpretation of the Law and in the treatment of Jewish institutions. Only by degrees did they become conscious that this new Teacher was not merely a liberal-minded candidate for the office and consideration of a Rabbi, but that He claimed to possess an authority different in kind from their own. Long before St. Peter's great confession there were floating about whispers and rumours that the Galilean Prophet was something more than a Prophet. He had reminded them of what had been said to them of old time, and then like a second Moses He had taken upon Him to pronounce, "But I say unto you," etc. He had had the presumption to declare the forgiveness of sins. On one occasion, contrasting the behaviour of previous generations with that of His own generation, He had said, "A greater than Solomon, a greater than Jonah, is here." In the meantime there were reports of wonderful works wrought by Him, not so much as signs of extraordinary power,—for when He was challenged to show such signs He repeatedly refused,—but as acts of mercy to the weak and suffering. All this generated a feeling of eager, if baffled, interest and expectation. Men were going about saying that the Messiah was among them. When they said "the Messiah," of course they meant what the Jews of that day understood by the Messiah, a leader armed with preternatural power, who would expel the Roman oppressor and inaugurate an age of supreme prosperity and glory for Israel. Starting with such ideas, we can imagine that there would be almost as much to disappoint their hopes as to rouse them. Many signs had pointed to the immediate coming of the Messiah; men said that Jesus of Nazareth was this Messiah; and yet there was something so

strangely pacific, quiet and unobtrusive about His whole character and mode of working, that it was hard to believe that He could be the Messiah indeed. The atmosphere was highly charged and sensitive; a single spark would set the combustible materials all around in flame. Constantly that spark seemed to be on the point of falling, and still it was in some mysterious way held back. On one occasion in particular it was very near. Something strange had happened on the waste land to the east of the Sea of Galilee. Great crowds had collected, and their wants had been wonderfully supplied. A sudden enthusiasm seized them, and they tried to take their benefactor by force and make Him king.

From which of the Gospels is it that we get this trait so exactly true to the situation—a trait so true to the situation then, but by no means true permanently and at all times? It was not at once that even the disciples were weaned of their expectation of temporal sovereignty. Yet they were weaned of it. The decisive and final lesson was taught by the fall of Jerusalem. From that time onwards we cannot but feel not only that such temporal expectations were impossible, but that it must very soon have come to be forgotten that they had ever existed. By that time the Christian idea of the Messiah was, if not wholly, yet so largely purged and clarified that the very memory of a state of things in which all the dross of the Jewish expectation still clung to it must have perished. We ask what Gospel it is which has so caught the flying moment, and we find that it is the Fourth.

But a touch like this is very far from standing alone. Let me recall a few more scenes from the same Gospel.

A deputation from the priestly members of the Sanhedrin, or rather—as we are expressly and precisely told—from the Pharisaic party in that body, comes down to John the Baptist at Bethany beyond Jordan to make a formal report upon his baptism for the guidance of their colleagues. They ask, Who is he?

"And he confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he saith, I am not. Art thou the prophet? (cf. Deut. xviii.) And he answered, No. They said therefore unto him, Who art thou, that we may give an answer to them that sent us? . . . And they asked him, and said unto him, Why then baptizest thou, if thou art not the Christ, neither Elijah, neither the prophet?"*

The Jews well understood that this bap-

* St. John i. 20-22, 25.

tism of John's was no mere form, but that it symbolized a thorough moral reformation such as they connected with certain prophetic figures who were associated in their minds with the Messianic time. But how long can we suppose that this vivid recollection of John's baptism, and of the attitude of leaders and people towards it would remain after the generation to which it had been preached had perished?

A more advanced stage in the public ministry of Christ has been reached. There is a mingled state of almost feverish uncertainty and expectation about Him. It is the feast of tabernacles.

"The Jews therefore sought him at the feast, and said, Where is he? * And there was much murmuring among the multitudes concerning him: some said, He is a good man; others said, Not so, but he leadeth the multitudes astray. Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews. But when it was now the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple and taught. The Jews therefore marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" †

The threatening temper of the Sanhedrin is known, so that people speak under their breath. Is this really an impostor or not? Does He satisfy the conditions laid down for the Messiah? It is wonderful that He should have such insight, having never passed through any of the regular Rabbinical schools.

"Some of the multitude therefore, when they heard these words, said, This is of a truth the prophet. Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was? So there arose division in the multitude because of him. And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him. The officers therefore came to the chief priests and Pharisees, and they said unto them, Why do ye not bring him? The officers answered, Never man so spake. The Pharisees therefore answered them, Are ye also led astray? Hath any of the rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees? But this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed. Nicodemus saith unto them, Doth our law judge a man except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth? They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." ‡

Not only Judaism, but Palestinian Judaism, not only Palestinian Judaism, but contemporary Palestinian Judaism—not the shattered and broken school of Jamnia, but

* I hope it will not be thought a want of reverence if I print this not in such a way as to express Christian feelings now, but in such a way as to show that it is really history reflecting the feelings actually entertained at the period to which it refers.

† *ibid.* 11-15.

‡ *ibid.* 40-52. On the small esteem in which Galilee was held at Jerusalem see Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 75 f.; *Stud. Bibl.*, i. 51.

the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem in all its pride and power—is here.

Just one picture of another kind.

"Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? how then doth he now see? His parents answered and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind; but how he now seeth we know not, or who opened his eyes we know not: ask him; he is of age; he shall speak for himself. These things said his parents because they feared the Jews; for the Jews had agreed already that if any man should confess him to be Christ he should be put out of the synagogue. Therefore said his parents, He is of age; ask him. So they called a second time the man that was blind, and said unto him, Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner." *

The whole of this narrative is redolent of Jewish ideas: at the outset the notion that the man's blindness must be a punishment for sin, his own or his parents; the interpretation given to the name Siloam (which really means "sending forth," "jet," or "discharge" of waters); and then the whole controversy, the idea that only wise and good men could work wonders (on which see the Talmudic parallels in Wünsche), † excommunication and the final advice, "Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner."

But what is to be observed is not only that the ideas are Jewish, but that they relate to, and fit in exactly with, a particular state of things. It is exactly the sort of controversy which would inevitably arise when such works as Jesus did and such claims as Jesus made came into collision with the fixed ideas of the Pharisees.

But one more example of a page taken straight from the life.

"Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into the country near to the wilderness into a city called Ephraim; and there he tarried with his disciples. Now the passover of the Jews was at hand, and many went up to Jerusalem out of the country before the passover to purify themselves. They sought therefore for Jesus, and spake one with another as they stood in the temple, What think ye? That he will not come to the feast? Now the chief priests and the Pharisees had given commandment that if any man knew where he was, he should show it that they might take him." ‡

Be it remembered that with the Fall of Jerusalem the Jewish ritual system came to an end. There seems to have survived a practice of going up at festival times to the Rabbinical centre at Jamnia and consulting the doctors there. § But this can only have been the merest shadow of the former pil-

* *ibid.* 10-24.

† *Erläuterungen d. Evangelien* (Göttingen, 1878) *ad loc.*

‡ *ibid.* 54-57.

§ See Renan, *Les Évangiles*, p. 21, and authorities there quoted.

grimaces to the feasts at Jerusalem. What experience of these could suggest to a writer of the second century that graphic picture of the stream beginning to flow toward the city (not from the Dispersion but) from the surrounding country, with a detail which would never have occurred but to one with special knowledge, "to purify themselves" for the passover?

But then, argues Mr. Cross, there are parallels to some of the allusions in the controversy with the Jews in Justin. True, there are such parallels: the instance is aptly chosen because Justin is, I think, the only, or almost the only, writer in which parallels with any point in them could be found. We may perhaps let pass the appellation "Gentile Christian," which Mr. Cross gives to Justin,* because though he calls himself a Samaritan, and though he was born at Neapolis (Sichem) in the heart of the Holy Land, he was brought up as a heathen. Still with him the controversy of the Jews was a real controversy: he had been engaged in it much and often: and the *Dialogue with Trypho* contains the literary harvest of actual living experience.† In this it differs from most subsequent treatises against the Jews which are as a rule artificial and rhetorical, in which the writers do not aim so much at the conversion of the Jews as at commending the argument from prophecy to their own co-religionists.‡

But Justin deals with the Jewish controversy in one manner, the author of the Fourth Gospel deals with it in another. We have seen how consistently, how pointedly, with how many minute side-touches of subsidiary detail, the latter always places himself at the true standpoint of the situation with which he is dealing. If I am asked whether it was impossible for a writer well acquainted with his subject to throw himself imaginatively into these positions and describe them as the Evangelist does, I would not say that it is absolutely impossible. I may have used the word before this, but in deference to Mr. Cross's arguments I withdraw it and modify the opinion to that extent. But if I am asked whether it is probable, and the solution thus suggested of the phenomena of the Gospel a satisfactory solution, I should answer unhesitatingly in the negative.

What has just been said may be taken to cover the further question as to whether

the author of the Gospel was an eye-witness. If he was a contemporary, he was in all probability an eye-witness as well. I will concede a little more to Mr. Cross under this head. The narrative is studded with features which receive a natural explanation if it is the work of an eye-witness; but it would be too much to say that, taken by themselves, they *prove* it to be the work of an eye-witness. Conceivably they may be a "counterfeit presentment" drawn from the imagination and not from life. Mr. Cross has made something of a point when he maintains that it is not probable that St. John was present at all the scenes which he relates with such graphic detail. It would be rather too much to assume that he was not: he may have been present at Jacob's well, or in the chamber during the visit of Nicodemus, and on several other occasions to which Mr. Cross takes exception, still the chances are against his having been present at all of them. I am quite satisfied with the way in which Mr. Cross states the case for me, viz., "that the writer, having witnessed most of the scenes which he describes, naturally carries into other scenes which did not come within his own observation the habit of presenting the well-known figures as if he was still looking at them with his bodily eyes."* I will not say that the proof is stringent, that it is the kind of proof on which we should hang a man; but I do say that taken along with the other considerations already stated it is the best account of the facts within our reach.†

If we frankly accept the Johannean authorship of the Gospel, then it seems to me that all the characteristics of it which we have noted fall easily and duly into their places. Even those which are adverse to its complete historical accuracy seem to me to find a better explanation on this hypothesis than on any other. A second-century romance-writer, even supposing that he had the learning and the imagination, would not have had the weight and depth and force and sublimity to produce a Gospel such as this. It is equally difficult to believe that one possessed of these commanding qualities, in near proximity to an age of great literary productiveness, should have passed away entirely without a name. On

* *Westminster Review*, Aug., 1890, p. 173.

* *Crit. Rev.*, Feb., 1891, p. 157 n.

† Trypho says that *ἐκ πολλῆς προσορίψεως τῆς πρὸς πολλούς*, he had an answer ready for every objection (c. 50).

‡ Harnack in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, i. 2, 63 ff.

† Of the detailed criticisms which Mr. Cross directs against my youthful essay (*W. R.*, pp. 177-181) I will only say that the majority of them relate rather to what might be called "picturesque accessories" than arguments. I set no great store by the order in the expulsion from the Temple (St. Mark is relatively the most graphic of the Synoptics and comes I should say next to St. John); I have no wish to press *ἀναπεσών*, or "and it was night," if my view of them is questioned; but I still hold stoutly to *μετὰ γυναικός*, and I think that most Greek scholars will agree with me; in this instance I do not think the argument unimportant.

the other hand, if the discourses in particular have been unconsciously shaped and moulded by the writer, it is just because he had too powerful and creative a mind for them to come out of it exactly as they were taken in. A mind like St. John's was not a sheet of white paper, on which impressions once made remained just as they were; it must needs impart to them some infusion of its own substance; and if there is something of masterfulness in the process, who had a better right, or who was more likely to exercise this freedom, than the last surviving Apostle, who had himself lain upon the bosom of the Lord?

THE NEW ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

BY REV. HENRY T. SMART.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London), April, 1892.

I HAD the pleasure to make the acquaintance of Dr. Vaughan three or four years ago. The circumstances were as follows: Working in the midst of a dense population in Salford, I was impressed by the unsanitary condition of the people's dwellings, the overcrowding that prevailed in the so called homes of the poor, and the excessive death-rate of the district, which was about double that of the better parts of the borough, and I therefore resolved to make an effort to promote a better state of things by calling the attention of the authorities and of the community to the evils that needed to be redressed. After I had held two or three meetings with working men to discuss the question, it occurred to me that it would be well if some of the leading citizens of Manchester and Salford could be got together to hear from reliable witnesses how the poor are housed in our large towns. I was especially anxious to associate the Churches with this movement, partly because of the value of the co-operation of Christian men, and partly because I desired to roll away the reproach that is sometimes brought against the Churches by extreme outsiders, that they are culpably inactive in promoting social reform. I therefore ventured in my own name to invite the Bishop of Manchester, the late Dean of Manchester, the Bishop of Salford, and many other ministers of religion, to join me in this movement.

For reasons known to himself, it pleased Bishop Moorhouse neither to come to my meetings nor to acknowledge my communi-

cation, and consequently I troubled his lordship no more, until, at the close of a disastrous strike, I, as secretary of a relief committee, sent Dr. Moorhouse an appeal for help for the stricken strikers, which he acknowledged by forwarding to the chairman of the relief committee a donation of twenty pounds. Dean Oakley was of another spirit (for one star differs from another star), and cordially responded to my invitation. Both on the platform and in committee he helped us nobly until the close of his life. Bishop Vaughan did the same. His secretary replied to my first letter, and informed me that his lordship would be happy to attend the conference to which I had invited him. The meeting was held on Wesleyan Methodist premises, and was presided over by a Wesleyan minister, but this appeared not to affect the Roman Catholic prelate, and he threw himself heart and soul into the movement. When, as the outcome of these conferences, a permanent organisation was established to promote the wholesome housing of the poor, and I wrote Dr. Vaughan to ask if he would allow me to submit his name to a meeting about to be held for the election of officers, he gave me permission to make any use of him which the interests of the society demanded. The consequence was that he was chosen as one of the vice-presidents of the association, and as I had the honor to be elected president, I was brought into contact with him from time to time.

Dr. Vaughan took the deepest interest in the question of the suitable housing of the people. He visited some of the worst houses in the borough, and saw with his own eyes what "coffin dwellings" are like; and the result was that he made a series of speeches on behalf of our movement which attracted the attention of the whole town, and did much to create a public opinion, which at length forced the Corporation to take action.

Several times he sat by my side and listened to working men whilst they described in their own vernacular the grievances which needed to be removed. Sometimes on these occasions he, like myself, was addressed with great freedom, but as our working-men friends always displayed good temper, he on his part was uniformly courteous to them. I once explained to him that after he had paid the men the compliment of listening to them for an hour or an hour and a half, they were all the more willing to listen to him with respect. With this view he agreed, and he promised to stand by me as often as his official duties would permit. This promise he kept.

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As Archbishop of Westminster he will have ample opportunities for promoting the better housing of the people, and as he is an enthusiast in this matter he will probably render great service to a movement which is needed as much in London as in Salford. I regret that Salford should lose the advantage of Bishop Vaughan's earnestness before her slums are destroyed, but since he must leave that town, it is well that London should have the benefit of his zeal and knowledge.

The new Archbishop is also anxious to purify the amusements of the people. He supported me in a conference which I held with working men on the subject of their recreations, and he had the opportunity of hearing on that occasion how the people spend their leisure, and what pastimes they love the most. Neither he nor I approved of all that was said, but it is always well to know what people think, and this end was answered by the meeting to which I refer. Dr. Vaughan expressed at this conference his own views on public amusements. He desired to see the people supplied by the Corporation with winter gardens, to which men may take their wives and children, and where they may find wholesome recreation gratuitously provided for them, and light refreshments at the lowest remunerative prices. When I left the town he was elected as my successor to the office of President of the Salford Working Men's Sanitary Association, and in that capacity he has recently waited upon the Town Council to urge upon them the desirability of buying an old militia barracks and converting it into a winter garden for the people. He argues that our climate really involves a winter of nine months' duration, and that as municipal bodies provide the community with parks and bands of music and swimming baths in the summer, they should provide the people with lectures, entertainments (given, say, by School Board children and their teachers), reading and smoking-rooms, and gymnasias for the long winter months. In this way he thinks it will be possible for the public-house to be effectually combated. He would empty the gin-palace by filling the gymnasium.

Dr. Vaughan is not likely ever to join the Social Federation League, but he is in favour of extending that limited socialism of which our free libraries and parks and Board Schools are examples, and thereby providing the people with wholesome dwelling-houses and rational recreation. But though he would move in this direction, he is not

advanced in his views. He is of a conservative cast of mind, and can only be said to be a Socialist in the sense in which strictly, and not jestingly, speaking, "we are all Socialists now."

The new Archbishop may fittingly be welcomed to London as a temperance reformer. The friends of temperance are divided by some temperance societies into two classes—Class A and Class B. The former class is composed of total abstinents, the latter of moderate (supposed to be *very moderate*) drinkers. Dr. Vaughan has described himself as belonging to Class B, but, as often happens, it appears that the doctors are to blame for this, they having insisted upon the Bishop using stimulants to a small extent. One would have thought that in this case, at all events, such advice was entirely unnecessary, for Dr. Vaughan is a man of splendid physique, and always seems to be in perfect health. However, he is enthusiastic in his efforts to abate intemperance, and regards the public-houses as worse than leeches, because, while leeches draw away *bad* blood, the public-houses thrive on the life-blood of the people. They are therefore, in his opinion, public curses, which ought to be suppressed, and all who are seeking to promote this end will find in him a valuable ally.

Dr. Vaughan takes much interest in out-cast children; indeed, I have thought sometimes that he takes too much interest in them. That dreadful blot on our civilisation, the gutter child, is a familiar sight in the streets of Manchester, notwithstanding that there are in that fine city many noble institutions for waifs and strays. Many of the Manchester gutter children—perhaps it would be fair to say nearly all—are by birth Roman Catholics. The uninitiated may suppose that it would be regarded as a good work to rescue these unhappy little creatures, but the truth is that if one of them should be reclaimed by a Protestant society, Dr. Vaughan would think that he was doing God service by moving heaven and earth to deliver the child out of the hands of heretics. Hence he has, I believe, deemed it his duty to break a lance with the President of the Wesleyan Conference, who, as the Principal of the Children's Home, has sought to show the kindness of God to some child or children whom Dr. Vaughan claims for his own Church. No doubt this is melancholy, but it is Dr. Vaughan's creed and not his heart that is at fault. I have known Anglican clergymen who have given me the impression that in their judgment it is better that

the lapsed masses should remain in vice, than that they should be reclaimed by Dissenters, and Dr. Vaughan is so much like them, that he appears to prefer that outcast Roman Catholic children should remain homeless and semi-starved rather than be despoiled of their faith, as he would say, by being brought up in such admirable institutions as Mr. Leonard K. Shaw's Boys' Refuge, or Mr. Alsop's Home for Destitute Lads, or Dr. Stephenson's Children's Home. It is, however, only fair to add that he exerts himself to the utmost to provide for these city arabs. In Bury, Blackburn, Rochdale, and, of course, Manchester and Salford, there are Roman Catholic homes for this class of children, and, no doubt, if Dr. Vaughan had more means at his disposal, he would increase the provision which his Church has made for them.

The new Archbishop is a Director of St. Joseph's Missionary Society of the Sacred Heart, which has for its object the training and sending out of missionaries to labour amongst peoples other than European. There are colleges in connection with this Society in the Tyrol and in Holland, and consequently Dr. Vaughan is often abroad on this business. I have at times marvelled when I have read reports of Dr. Vaughan's sermons. For a while he has discoursed eloquently and powerfully, and then, when you would expect that he was about to grapple with the conscience and denounce sin, and insist upon repentance towards God and faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ, he has given a dissertation on the duty of devotion to the Sacred Heart.

Dr. Vaughan's study in his Salford home is much like the study of a minister belonging to my own communion, except that on the table there is an image of Our Lady. The shelves are stocked with books, not exactly the sort which Spurgeon would have selected, but suitable for their owner's purpose.

Dr. Vaughan is a handsome man. He is of more than average stature, aristocratic in deportment, the pink of urbanity, and a man of many accomplishments. In some respects he differs from the late Cardinal Manning as much as the moon differs from the sun. Mr. Stead has asked the saints to protect us from having Dr. Vaughan appointed in Manning's place, but his petition, like all prayers addressed to saints, has been unheard, and Bishop Vaughan is now appointed by the Pope to the vacant archbishopric. I can, however, understand the motive of Mr. Stead's ejaculation. Dr.

Vaughan is not a man of the world. He is by no means a reader of newspapers. From what he once said to me, I imagine that, like Mr. Balfour, he scarcely ever reads a daily paper. Mr. Balfour says that he usually hears all that is worth knowing of the affairs of the world, and therefore has no need to waste his time in reading the papers. This will not be Dr. Vaughan's reason. He lives in a world of his own, and does not concern himself much with public affairs, priding himself upon never having given a vote at a parliamentary election. When he has been sitting at my side in public meetings, I have gathered from his questions that he has known nothing of local occurrences of which the Manchester papers were full. I was also surprised to find how little he knew of some of the leading citizens of Manchester. Not only did he not know these by face; they were unknown to him even by name. Occasionally I introduced to him local clergymen who resided almost under the shadow of "Bishop's House," but to whom he had never spoken. Once when Mr. H. B. Harrison, who is perhaps the best-known man in Salford, having lived there for forty years, and been a member of the School Board from the establishment of that body (with the exception of a very short break), spoke in the Bishop's presence, he inquired of me whether Mr. Harrison was a clergyman.

However, he knew the late Bishop Fraser, who has left on record his impressions of him, written in the following terms: "I much like him, and all our personal relations are friendly. . . . He is an able and accomplished man, and when we meet on neutral ground, we always meet as friends, and I can get on with him much better than I can with some of our narrow-minded Protestants."

To myself Bishop Vaughan was always courteous and considerate. When I left Salford he sent one of his clergy to represent him at my farewell meeting, and he signed an address which was presented to me on that occasion, in which generous words are used to describe certain work which I had the privilege of doing in Salford, and in which kind wishes are expressed for my health and happiness. It should seem, therefore, that since the new Archbishop has been associated with Nonconformist ministers in efforts of social amelioration in Salford, he is not likely to be intolerant and exclusive in the high position to which he has been called not only by the Pope, but also by public opinion.

THE MAMMON OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS.

BY W. TAYLOR SMITH, B.A.

From *The Thinker* (London), May, 1892.

Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it shall fail they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles.—LUKE XVI. 9.

In the whole recorded teaching of Jesus there is perhaps no saying which has so completely baffled the efforts of expositors, none which makes us long more for a report of the actual words uttered by our Lord. Attempt after attempt has been made by scholars whose learning and piety command universal respect, and still the reader turns away unsatisfied. Under these circumstances it would be rash in the extreme to propound an explanation with unhesitating confidence; but a few cautious suggestions may, without presumption, be submitted to the notice of the student.

I. The first point to be considered, and on which we venture to think too great stress cannot be laid, is the absolute necessity for the right understanding of such a saying as this, of as thorough an acquaintance as possible with the thoughts, feelings, and expressions of those to whom the words were in the first instance addressed. We must endeavour to place ourselves in the position of those to whom Jesus thus spoke. What would these words mean for them? What notions were current among them on the subject with which Jesus was dealing? This method, which ought to be applied, and probably will be applied in the next generation to a greater extent than has hitherto been done to the whole of the Lord's teaching, is especially appropriate in the treatment of a saying like this, which undoubtedly has its roots in Jewish ideas and habits. Many of our Lord's precepts are couched in language which can be understood everywhere. Others—and this is one of them—are saturated with Jewish influence, are flavoured, so to speak, by the soil in which they grow, and can only be correctly interpreted by those who are familiar with that soil. Let us, then, in dealing with the passage before us try, in the first place, to realize what were the thoughts entertained by the Jews of our Lord's day on the question to which it undoubtedly refers—the wise use of material possessions. Whatever the practice of the Pharisees may have been, it is certain that in their teaching they laid great stress on the value of benevolence as a specially effectual means of

securing the favour of Heaven. The text in Proverbs x. 2, "Treasures of wickedness profit nothing, but righteousness delivereth from death," had probably acquired, as early as the time of Christ, the contracted application of its latter half, which we so often find in Rabbinical literature, "*Almsgiving delivereth from death.*" In other words, the term צדקה, or "righteousness," and its Aramaic equivalent had begun to be used in a narrower sense than that which it had in the times of the prophets. A part was put by many in place of the whole. If a native of Jerusalem or Galilee spoke of צדקה, he probably often, if not generally, meant not correspondence with the Divine will in all departments of life, but one phase of it, namely, kindness to the poor expressed in gifts of money and property, or, as he termed it, "mammon." Mammon so used, he was taught, might be a great blessing. Earthly life might be prolonged for years, and the benefit might extend even beyond the grave. Charitable actions were advocates, so to speak, who pleaded powerfully with God (Tosefta Peah iv.; Baba bathra 10b). The death from which almsgiving delivered was thought of in some instances at least as not merely the death of the body, but the darker death which lay beyond—the judgment of hell (Baba bathra 10b). When a scoffing heathen asked Rabbi Akiba, who was a contemporary of the Apostle John, why the God of the Jews, if He loved the poor, did not take care of them, the Rabbi is reported to have replied: "In order that we might be delivered by them (by having them as the objects of charity) from the judgment of hell" (Baba bathra 10b). So it seems to have been believed by some of the early Rabbis that benevolence purchased, for the man who practised it, exemption from the torments of hell. According to another anecdote, professing to date from the first century, he who spent his mammon on the poor, instead of laying up treasures below and in this world, laid up treasures above, in the world to come (Baba bathra 11b). "Almsgiving," it was also said, "and benevolence" (by which they meant kind actions not confined to the giving of alms) "are equal in value to all the precepts of the Law" (Tosefta Peah iv.). It was to persons familiar with such teaching as this that the saying under consideration was addressed. So for them it must have meant something like this: "Give freely to the poor of your material possessions, and you will find, when the latter have slipped for ever from your grasp, that you still have friends, friends who can do far

more for you than was possible for the highest earthly friendship."

II. From these general illustrations of the passage we pass now to some of the expressions which it contains. The opening words, *make to yourselves friends*, are quite in the manner of the rabbis. "Make to thyself a master," said a Rabbi who flourished before the commencement of the Christian era, "and get to thyself an associate" (Pirke Aboth. I. vi.). In the clause *that they may receive you*, the plural admits of two explanations. It may either be regarded as referring to angels, an idea quite in harmony with Jewish notions about angelic ministry (see Baba bathra 11b), where angels are represented as pleading in behalf of a charitable man, and Cethuboth 104b, where it is said angels meet the soul of the righteous man), or it may be taken as an instance of the indefinite plural so common in Rabbinic literature. If the latter interpretation is adopted the clause might be rendered in English by a passive "that you may be received;" in French by a clause beginning with "on;" and in German by one commencing with "man." *Eternal tabernacles* would probably in the original form of the saying be "tabernacles of the world to come."

III. Most difficult, in fact the crux of the passage, is the expression, *mammon of unrighteousness*. The highest authorities, Lightfoot, Wetstein, and Wuensche, are all unable to furnish a fully satisfactory explanation, although they give some valuable hints which all later students must gratefully use. 1. Let us at the outset get all the information which can be extracted from the context. In v. 11 we find a slight variation of the expression: instead of *ὁ μαμωνᾶς τῆς ἀδικίας*, we have *ὁ ἀδίκος μαμωνᾶς*, and the opposite of this *τὸ ἀληθινόν*. "The mammon of unrighteousness" then is the reverse of what is genuine. It is not what it seems to be; in other words, it is characterized by unreality, by deceitfulness. It is to all intents and purposes a sham. 2. What would the expression mean for the listeners? Was it wholly new? Or was it something with which they were more or less familiar? Had they ever heard of "the mammon of truth," or "the mammon of unrighteousness," or "the mammon of deceit," or any similar phrase? The word "mammon" at any rate, as has been already hinted, was in constant use if we can rest an inference on its frequent occurrence in the Hebrew and Aramaic sayings of the Rabbis. It was the common designation of a man's possessions as contrasted with his

person. One phrase of which it formed part is found in several passages in the Targums. Now although these relics of the ancient synagogue were not put into their present form until long after the commencement of the Christian era, there is little reason for doubting the great antiquity of much of their contents and the substantial identity of much of their teaching, both as to substance and form, with that which was current in the days of our Lord. It is therefore highly probable, if not almost certain, that the phrase in question *ממון דשקר* "mammon of deceit, or "mammon of falsehood," was often heard in the synagogues of Palestine during the ministry. Those to whom Jesus spoke had been taught, we may assume, that the sons of Samuel had turned aside "after the mammon of falsehood" (1 Sam. viii. 3); that the man who heaps to himself "mammon of falsehood" destroys his own house (Prov. xv. 27), and that the princes of Jerusalem in the last days of the kingdom of Judah did not shrink from murder in their eagerness to gain "the mammon of falsehood" (Ezek. xxii. 27, see also the Targumic renderings of Isa. v. 23; xxxiii. 15; and Hosea v. 11). They may have been assured from the platform of the synagogue that one of the sins of the Sodomites was misuse of mammon; "they were evil," says the Targum, "in their (the use of) mammon towards one another" (Gen. xiii. 13). So when Jesus spoke of the mammon of unrighteousness, whether he used the very phrase *ממון דשקר*, or not, his hearers would at once think of that, and of any similar expression which they had been accustomed to hear in the synagogue. The phrase *ממון דשקר* seems to have meant mammon which was either got by deceit or used in deceit. As some may have begun even then (note the reference above to Baba bathra 11b) to contrast earthly and heavenly treasures, it is at least possible that the expression *ממון דשקר*, or *ממון דרשע** may have been intended to mean, and have been understood to mean, earthly possessions which are so closely associated with evil, and at their best are deceitful, as opposed to spiritual blessings, which are real and everlasting.

To sum up, when Jesus said, "Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it fails they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles," He sought to impress on those who

* My friend, Prof. Marshall, has called attention to the occurrence of this expression in the Targum on Hab. ii. 9, "Woe to him who seizeth the mammon of unrighteousness to his house, in order to set his habitation on high, to save himself from the power of evil."

heard Him the real nature of earthly possessions—that if not stained by their origin, or the motive which led to their accumulation, they are disappointing and transient—and to point out the best way of using them ; and He did this in language which sanctioned what was good in current Jewish teaching on the subject without endorsing what was exaggerated or erroneous.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN PREDESTINATION AS CONTAINED IN THE SYSTEM OF STRICT CALVINISM.

BY REV. G. W. NORTHRUP, D.D., LL.D.

From *The Standard* (Bapt.), Chicago, April 14, 1892.

IV.

IN an article published in *THE STANDARD*, March 10, we endeavored to prove that the doctrine of God's sovereignty in predestination, as contained in the system of strict Calvinism, necessarily implies that the eternal perdition of a part of mankind—the non-elect—is not only certain, but inevitable, do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the gospel. In demonstrating this proposition it was shown that strict Calvinism involves the following positions : 1. That in virtue of the natural or representative relation of Adam to his posterity, his fall was, in the divine judgment, really or virtually their fall. 2. That consequently mankind are, at birth, under condemnation, "subject to death with all miseries spiritual, temporal and eternal." 3. That eternal life is dependent upon repentance and faith. 4. That the inborn inability of man to repent and believe is real and absolute, "as complete as the inability of the blind to see, or of the dead to restore themselves to life." 5. That regeneration of which repentance and faith are the fruits is a work of God in which man is "*altogether passive*." 6. That God's action in regenerating a part of mankind and in leaving the rest in unregeneracy is the certain and necessary result of the decrees of election and preterition. 7. That these decrees are, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of all personal action as foreseen. 8. That these decrees are eternal and immutable, and the number included in each "is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished."

If these propositions are true it is demon-

strably evident that the eternal perdition of a part of mankind, all the non-elect, is not only certain, but inevitable, do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the gospel.

Our chief aim in this article is to demonstrate that the same doctrinal system necessarily implies that God is not moved by love and compassion for the non-elect in his offers of salvation, entreaties, exhortations, etc., and is not, therefore, dealing with them in good faith.

NOT MOVED BY LOVE AND COMPASSION.

I. There are differences of view among Calvinists as to God's method of dealing with the non-elect.

1. According to one view it is by the power of the truth—apart from the direct action of the Holy Spirit—that he deals with the non-elect, enlightens their minds, convicts them of sin, and presses upon them the duty of accepting Jesus Christ as offered in the gospel. It is urged that "it is highly improbable that God, who does nothing in vain, should operate on men's minds to produce effects which confessedly come to nothing, which are not so continued as to end in salvation," and that the word of God which is declared to be "quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart," is sufficient, under God's general providential agency, to produce all the results of a moral and religious character which are known to exist in those who are never renewed.

2. Another opinion is that the Holy Spirit, not as a general rule, but in special cases, does, by his direct operation upon the non-elect, render the truth more effective in their illumination, and in convicting them of sin and leading them to avoid many sins and to practice many social and civil virtues.

Calvin B. III., Chap. XXIV. 8—"For there is a universal call by which God, in the external preaching of the word, invites all, indiscriminately, to come to him, even those for whom he intends it as a savor of death, and an occasion of heavier condemnation. There is also a special call with which he, for the most part, favors only believers, when, by the inward illumination of his Spirit, he causes the word preached to sink into their hearts. Yet sometimes he also communicates it to those whom he only enlightens for a season, and afterwards forsakes on account of their ingratitude, and strikes with greater blindness."

Westminster Assembly's Larger Catechism, Q. 68—"All the elect and they only are effectually called, although others may be and often are outwardly called by the ministry of the word, and *have some common operations of the Spirit.*"

2. The doctrine most commonly held by Calvinists is that the Holy Spirit operates upon the minds of *all* men—at least of all who hear the gospel—heightening the natural power of the truth. Hodge Syst. Theol. II. 667—"The Bible teaches that the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of truth, of holiness and of life in all its forms, is present with every human soul, enforcing truth, restraining from evil, exciting to good and imparting wisdom or strength, when, where, and in what measure seemeth to him good. In this sphere also he divides to every man severally as he will. This is what in theology is called common grace."

Shedd, Dogmatic Theol. I. 432.—"Every human being experiences some degree of the ordinary influences of the Spirit of God. St. Paul teaches that God strives with man universally. He convicts him of sin and urges him to repent of it and to forsake it."

Among the additions which the Revision committee recommended to the General Assembly at its last session is the following statement: "The gospel declares the love of God for the world and his desire for the salvation of all men. It sets forth clearly and fully the only way of salvation which is through Christ alone; commands, exhorts and invites all to embrace offered mercy, and urges every motive to induce men to accept its gracious invitations. This free and universal offer of the gospel is accompanied by the Holy Spirit, striving with and entreating men to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. And they who continue to disobey the gospel perish by their own fault, and are wholly without excuse, because they have resisted the Holy Spirit and rejected God's gracious offer of eternal life."

DIFFICULTIES.

As regards the object which we have chiefly in view in this paper,—which is to prove that, according to the theory of strict Calvinism, in inviting and urging the non-elect to accept eternal life as offered in the gospel, God cannot be regarded as moved by compassion for them, and therefore that he is not dealing with them in good faith,—it is not a matter of essential importance to determine which one of the views indicated above should be accepted; whether in dealing with this class God employs the truth alone, under the laws of his ordinary provi-

dential action, or whether the Holy Spirit operates occasionally or universally in connection with the truth, heightening its natural effect upon the understanding, conscience and heart. The supposition that it is solely by his providential action that God renders the truth effective in illuminating, convicting and persuading the non-elect, involves all the difficulties which would arise from supposing that the Holy Spirit operates also, occasionally, in furtherance of the same end; and the supposition that the Holy Spirit operates occasionally, involves all the difficulties which would arise from supposing that he operates universally.

1. It is universally conceded that God, by his providential efficiency, does use the natural light of reason and conscience, and the truth revealed in the gospel, in convicting the non-elect of sin and in pressing upon them the duty of accepting the mercy offered in Jesus Christ. The question with which we are concerned at this point is not what the non-elect do under the influence of truth,—whether they ever strive to gain the favor of God in the way of his appointing, or whether their whole attitude is one of resistance to his will and defiance of his authority,—but why he deals with them in this way, having determined by an irreversible decree antecedent to and irrespective of their personal action as foreseen not to renew them, and knowing that, since their inborn inability to repent and believe, or to renew themselves, is a "bondage as terrible and remorseless as any imprisonment behind iron bars," their perdition is *inevitable*, do what they can, and knowing, also, that every act on his part, in pressing upon them the claims, invitations and encouragements of the gospel, cannot but enhance their guilt and damnation? Is it not certain that such a mode of procedure as this cannot be due to "divine mercy and love for their souls?" Is it not an inexcusable abuse of language to call anything bestowed upon sinners "grace," an "expression of compassion," the possession of which cannot but enhance their guilt and punishment, do what they can to use it aright? The fact that the inability of mankind is culpable—rendering them liable "to the wrath of God and the curse of the law"—does not affect the question before us, whether the bestowment of "common grace," or "the means of common grace," is, or is not, "an expression of God's infinite mercy" for the non-elect. It is not the *character* of the sinner's inability, whether innocent or guilty, but its *reality* and *absoluteness* which it concerns us here

to keep in mind. Would it be "an expression of love" on the part of a superintendent of an asylum for the blind, to those under his care, to take them to a picture gallery with the intention of exhorting and commanding them to open their eyes and to look with admiration on the masterpieces of the great artists, and of punishing them in case they should fail to obey him? Would it be an act of "mercy" on the part of a prince to spread a table with all manner of delicacies, in sight of a prisoner behind iron bars, with the design of inviting and commanding him to come forth from his imprisonment and to partake of the bounty provided for him, and of adding to the severity of his punishment in case he refused to do so? It is self-evident that, whatever might be the motive of the superintendent or of the prince, in the cases supposed, the feeling of love and mercy could not have been one of them. And so, if the theory of strict Calvinism is true in its teaching relative to (1) the absoluteness of the sinner's inability to save himself, (2) the decree of preterition as prior to and irrespective of the foresight of the personal action of those included in it, and (3) the notion of common grace as enhancing the guilt of those who receive it, though insufficient to enable them to repent and believe, it is self-evident that God cannot be moved in his dealing with the non-elect by mercy and love for their souls. If the facts of their case are such as this theory supposes them to be, would not the least degree of compassion, if unrestrained, determine him to send them to hell on the day of their birth, or to appoint them to be born idiotic, or, at least, to live and die in the densest darkness of paganism? Let us see if it is not logically necessary to answer this question in the affirmative.

(1) All that *strict justice* can require in the case of the non-elect is that they be appointed to die in infancy and to be punished forever for original sin. "Every sin, both *original* and *actual* . . . doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and the curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all its miseries spiritual, temporal and *eternal*" (West. Con.)

(2) In case the non-elect are appointed to live to the age of responsible action, their guilt *must increase* with the increase of the years of their earthly existence. For their inability to cease to sin, even for a moment, is as real and complete as their inability to cease to exist, which inability God decreed

without consideration of their personal action as foreseen, not to remove.

(3) Every sin, even the smallest, "deserves damnation." (West. Con. Chap. XV. 4.)

(4) God will render to all men according to their works, adjusting in the case of every one, penalty to ill-desert with infallible accuracy.

(5) The total penalty to which the sinner is obnoxious at the hour of death will be, therefore, greater or less according to the light possessed or attainable.

Now we affirm that these positions, if true (and we do not here call in question the truth of any one of them), logically compel us to deny that God is moved by love and mercy for the non-elect in appointing them to live to the age of moral accountability and in bestowing upon them common grace, or the means of common grace. If *justice* would be completely satisfied in the assignment of the non-elect to hell in infancy, what shall we call that principle in God which determined him, having decreed in the exercise of his sovereignty not to renew and pardon them, to appoint them to live to the years of adult life, thereby rendering their subjection to an infinitely enhanced damnation *inevitable*? Is it not the height of absurdity to say that such a mode of procedure as this is "an expression of God's mercy and love for the non-elect?"

(2) But still more impressive proof of the proposition which we set out to establish is involved in the view most commonly held by strict Calvinists on the ground of the teaching of the Bible and of the facts of experience and observation, viz.: that the Holy Spirit operates occasionally, or universally, with the truth, rendering it more effective even in the case of those who are never regenerated.

We challenge any man to suggest any valid reasons for the belief that God deals with the elect as a class, prior to his act regenerating them, in a manner in *any respect different* as regards the kind, or energy, or duration of the agencies employed, from that in which he deals with the non-elect as a class. We believe there is no warrant for the commonly received notion of "*special grace*" as distinguished in kind from "*common grace*" and from "*regenerating grace*." The simple facts of the case are these: Here are two classes of persons: in the one class, the elect,—there certain so-called immediate antecedents of regeneration, being due to the action of God by his providence,

truth, and Spirit upon their minds, and their action in response to his providential and gracious agency as determined by the purpose of election. These "antecedents" are simply the volitions, feelings, etc., divinely appointed as a fitting preparation or condition of the bestowment of regenerating grace; they may be few or many, continued for an hour or for years, involving little or great distress of mind. As we stated in a former article, at times the Holy Spirit flashes the illuminating and burning rays of divine truth into the soul, dispelling its darkness, starting into intense action the dormant principles of sin, setting the conscience on fire, awakening regret, shame, fear, remorse; appealing to the higher and nobler aspirations of the soul, which sin has not utterly destroyed, and which point the soul to the height whence it fell. Yet these manifold activities are not the new life, nor do they have any tendency to spiritual renovation. But in the midst of these various activities of reason, conscience, sensibility and will, beneath them all—below conscience itself—at the center of the soul—there is a divine touch, restoring the dead to life, opening the blind eyes, emancipating the enslaved will, and calling into exercise faith, repentance, hope, love, and every other spiritual principle of our being. In like manner, with the exception of the life-giving touch, the Holy Spirit, it cannot be doubted, often operates upon those whom the strict Calvinistic theory regards as the non-elect, and with far greater energy in the case of some of them than in the case of many whom he calls from death to life.

GOD'S REASONS IN HIS DEALING WITH THE NON-ELECT.

What now, we inquire, are the reasons determining God to deal in this way with the non-elect? Is it that he designs (1) "to restrain them from much that is evil and to lead them to exercise many civil and social virtues," (2) "to aid in promoting the salvation of the elect," (3) to make manifest the greatness of their depravity and the righteousness of their punishment? But granting that God has these and other ends in view, we would inquire, Is he moved by "infinite love and mercy," seeking to persuade them to shun destruction, to accept of the salvation offered in the gospel, or is he tantalizing them with the offer of an infinite but impossible good? If the view already considered, that it is only through his providential action that the truth is made effective in the work of illuminating, convicting and persuading the

non-elect, is absolutely irreconcilable with the supposition that he is moved by a compassionate regard for them, what shall we say of his action in bestowing upon them the powerful influences of his Spirit, whereby their guilt and damnation cannot but be immeasurably enhanced? In what respect, we would again ask, would his procedure in their case be different, if it were determined by pure, unrestrained, infinite wrath? It is safe to say that there is not a man in the world who would not unhesitatingly prefer to be sent to hell the very hour in which he should be infallibly assured that he belonged to the class of the non-elect according to the theory of strict Calvinism.

The only view which can possibly be held consistently with this theory is that of Augustine, Calvin, Turretin and his school, and of the earlier Calvinists generally, viz.: *That God has no love for the non-elect in the sense of a desire to save them.* Augustine taught that by Adam's sin the whole human race became a mass of corruption—an object of God's infinite abhorrence and that he determined, antecedent to their personal action, to leave the great majority of them in the state of deserved abhorrence in which they are born.

Calvin denies unhesitatingly and explicitly that God loves the non-elect in the sense of desiring to save them. Inst. B. III. XXIV. 7, 12—"God through the external preaching of the word, invites all men alike, even those for whom he *designs the call to be a savor of death and a ground of severer condemnation.*" "Those whom he has created for dishonor during life and destruction at death, that they may be vessels of wrath and examples of severity, in bringing them to their doom, he at one time deprives them of the means of hearing the word, at another by the preaching of it blinds and stupefies them the more."

The late Dr. Van Dyke, Dr. Shedd's successor in Union Theological Seminary, declares (Variations of Calvinism, 44, 45) "that Calvin denies that there is any mercy whatever for the non-elect, holding that God has *excluded them from all access to salvation* . . . that according to his theory, the great majority of the human race are predestinated by an eternal *election* to destruction—they are *created* for this very purpose—and the only reason why the gospel is preached to any of these reprobates, is not any real desire or willingness on God's part for their salvation, but his active design is to harden and fit them for the destruction to which they are doomed."

Dr. Dabney remarks (Princeton Rev.,

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July 1878, p. 351), "It is significant that the Reformed divines of Turretin's school seem usually to conduct this debate on the assumption (sometimes tacit, sometimes expressed) that as God had no *volition* towards the salvation of the non-elect, so he could not have any propension or affection at all towards it."

In an article published in the *Herald and Presbyterian*, September 25, 1889, Dr. Van Dyke uses the following language: "Now, I affirm, and challenge proof to the contrary, that our Confession does not contain one declaration of the infinite love of God for all men as it is revealed in the gospel, or one declaration of the infinite fullness of the gospel salvation as suitable, and offered to all sinners, or one declaration which comprehends, or even alludes to the teaching of Scripture on these points."

And the explanation of the failure of the Westminster Confession and of the other early Reformed creeds, to teach explicitly, or by implication, God's love for all men, is found in the fact that their authors were compelled by the logic of the strict Calvinistic theory to deny his love for the non-elect.

It is of the very essence of this theory as expounded by Augustine, Calvin, and its advocates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that God loves the elect and them alone, that the provisions of mercy as revealed in the gospel were designed for them and for them only, and that these provisions are offered to mankind indiscriminately because such a method is best for securing the salvation of those for whom they were made. And no skill in statement, and no subtlety of logic can harmonize with this scheme the current Calvinistic representations, based on the plainest declarations of the Bible, that God loves all men in the sense of having an infinite desire for the salvation of each and every one of them. "To escape the irresistible force of these declarations" (John 3:16; 1 Tim. 2:4; 2 Pet. 3:9; 1 John 3:2; Rom. 11:32), says Dr. Schaff, "Calvinists have resorted to the distinction between the *revealed* will of God which would save all men, and the *secret* will which would save a few. But that would put an intolerable dualism into the being of God and charge him—*sit venia verbo*—with falsehood and deceit. This is logic with a vengeance, and it is irresistible from Augustinian premises."

3. Thus far in our discussion we have proceeded on the assumption that those whom this theory designates as non-elect, though the recipients of the same grace

which is bestowed upon the elect prior to the act which regenerates them, never seek to gain the favor of God in the way appointed in the gospel, never strive to exercise the repentance and faith which the Bible requires. "It will be time enough," says Dr. Hodge, "for any man to complain when he fails to experience Christ's healing power, after having sought it as long, as earnestly, and as submissively to the directions of God's word, as its importance demands; or, even with the assiduity and zeal with which men seek the perishing things of this life," Syst. Theol. II. 709, 710.

But we challenge any man to suggest any valid reasons for the belief that those whom this theory recognizes as the elect, ever perform, under the influence of the grace bestowed upon them while unregenerate, any moral or religious acts which, as regards the matter or spirit of them, are not performed by those whom the theory designates as the non-elect; or any valid reasons for denying, or doubting that multitudes of the latter class (the non-elect) do seek salvation in the way of God's appointing with far greater earnestness and perseverance than do multitudes of the former class (the elect) whom God meets with his renewing and pardoning grace. It is important to see clearly the ground of the position here taken.

SPECIFIC GROUNDS STATED.

(1) The decrees of election and preterition are, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of the personal action of men as foreseen.

(2) There is *no evidence*, Scriptural or rational, that there is any difference in the influence of the truth, or in the operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of the members of these two classes—the non-elect, and the elect while unregenerate.

(3) Hence there can be no ground for believing that the action of the elect as a class differs in any respect from that of the non-elect as a class, under the influence of the truth and the ordinary operation of the Holy Spirit.

(4) If, then, those who are included in the purpose of preterition never seek eternal life in the way of the gospel, in response to the influence of common grace, we must believe that those included in the purpose of election never struggle and agonize to gain eternal life in response to the same influences and agencies.

(5) But that the elect do earnestly and perseveringly seek to escape destruction, do strive to come into right relations to God through repentance and faith, moved by the

commands and invitations of the gospel and the action of the Holy Spirit, is abundantly evident from the statements of Scripture and from the testimony of the regenerate. Bunyan is surpassed by no uninspired writer in setting forth vividly and truthfully the influence of divine truth upon men, both the regenerate and the unregenerate, and their action under these influences. And he tells us that "the man put his fingers in his ears and ran crying, Life! life! eternal life! So he looked not behind him, but fled toward the middle of the plain;" and that when he tumbled into the slough of despond he "endeavored to struggle to the side of the slough that was furthest from his own house and nearest to the wicket gate," and when he came to the gate and saw that over it was written, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you," "he knocked more than once or twice, saying,

"May I now enter here? Will he within
Open to sorry me, though I have been
An undeserving rebel? Then shall I
Not fail to sing his lasting praise on high."

Are not the words of Newton true to the experience of multitudes of the people of God?

"Once a sinner near despair
Sought thy mercy-sent in prayer;
Mercy heard and set him free,
Lord, that mercy came to me."

President Davies: "It is only in the use of the means of grace that you can expect divine grace to work faith in you: never yet was it produced in one soul while lying supine, lazy, inactive."

Edwards: "Though God has not bound himself to anything that a person does while destitute of faith, and out of Christ, there is great probability that in the way of hearkening to this counsel you will live, and that by pressing onward and persevering you will at last, as it were by violence, take the kingdom of heaven. Those of you who have not only heard the directions given, but shall through God's merciful assistance practice according to them, are those who will probably overcome."

Shedd: "Salvation is in the highest degree probable for any person who earnestly and diligently uses common grace and the means of common grace. . . . There is the highest encouragement in the Bible to pray for the regenerating grace of God. . . . To a person who inquires: How am I to obtain the new truth and what particular thing am I to do respecting it, the answer is: Find out that you need it, and that your self-enslaved will cannot originate it. And

when you have found this out cry unto God, the Holy Spirit, Create in me a clean heart, and renew within me a right spirit, and this prayer must not cease till the answer comes."

This is most admirable and scriptural advice; but query: How long would *one of the non-elect* have to pray before receiving the blessing of the new birth? It is, however, needless to multiply these testimonies.

FOUR LEGITIMATE MOTIVES.

There are four legitimate motives or principles of action to which the Holy Spirit appeals, in the use of the truth, in persuading sinners to seek the salvation of their souls: self-interest, the feeling of obligation, the natural principle of gratitude, and the aspiration for something higher and better than the world can give.

(1) Self-interest, due regard for one's highest well-being, is a legitimate and divinely implanted principle of action, and to be determined by it, in due measure, is an essential characteristic of rational beings in their unfallen state. It is as proper and right for a sinner to seek to shun eternal destruction as it is for him to seek to escape from a burning building. "That this natural self-interest is not in itself sinful, God himself shows when he addresses the warnings and invitations of his word both to men's hopes and to men's fears." It is impossible that there should be a more powerful appeal to the legitimate principle of self-regard than the Scriptures make in their offer of infinite good and in their threatening of infinite evil.

(2) Many are powerfully moved to strive to obey God by the feeling of obligation. Their conscience, quickened by the operation of the Holy Spirit, responds to the claims of divine law; they see and feel that to repent of their sins, to obey, and trust, and love God, is a most sacred duty, having its ground in his character and relations to them. Conscience, when enlightened, is a high and powerful principle of action, and to strive to obey its behests is not to act selfishly, or to act in defiance of the authority of God.

(3) The natural principle of gratitude often prompts the awakened sinner to respond to the gracious invitations of the gospel. The goodness of God leads, its tendency and design is to lead, men to repentance. The sight of the incarnate Son of God, uttering from the cross the cry of expiring love, has an immeasurable power of appeal to the heart when under the illu-

minating and quickening influence of the Holy Spirit.

"I saw One hanging on a tree
In agonies and blood;
He fixed his languid eyes on me,
As near his cross I stood.
O, never till my latest breath,
Shall I forget that look;
It seemed to charge me with his death,
Though not a word he spoke."

(4) Some are moved Godward by an aspiration for something higher and better than the world can give. Profoundly conscious of the emptiness and vanity of all finite things, bewildered by the mysteries and tragedies of life, the heart is moved by the gracious words coming down from the height of heaven, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." Shedd, *Sermons to the Natural Man*, 216,—"Through the common influences of the Spirit of grace, and the ordinary workings of a rational nature not yet reprobated, man is at times the subject of internal stirrings and aspirations that indicate the greatness and glory of the heights whence he fell. Under the power of an awakened conscience, and the feeling of the emptiness of the world, and the aching void within him, man wishes for something better than he has, or than he is. . . . The immortal, heaven-descended spirit, feeling the kindling touch of truth and of the Holy Ghost, thrills under it and essays to soar."

It is these principles, one or all, to which the Holy Spirit appeals through the instrumentality of the truth in the work of persuading men to seek the salvation of their souls, to accept of Jesus Christ as offered in the gospel. And we affirm our conviction that no substantial reasons can be adduced for believing that the action as a class, of those whom the theory of strict Calvinism regards as non-elect, under the influence of the commands and gracious appeals of the gospel and the operation of the Holy Spirit, is in any respect different from the action of the elect as a class, while in a state of unregeneracy; and that no substantial reason can be adduced for doubting or denying that multitudes of the former class seek God with far more earnestness and perseverance than do multitudes of the latter class, the immediate antecedents of whose regeneration are determined by the decree of election. They may use the means of grace, read the Scriptures daily, consult Christian friends and follow their counsel, strive to exercise repentance and faith, supplicate the Divine mercy with strong crying and tears for the grace necessary to render

their striving successful, thus using all their natural powers to the utmost in seeking salvation in the way appointed in the gospel; yet all these efforts—due to the agency of the Holy Spirit—are infallibly and necessarily vain. For, since they cannot renew themselves, the eternal and irreversible decree not to renew them being, in the logical order, prior to and irrespective of their personal action as foreseen, renders their eternal perdition as certain and unavoidable as it would be if it were brought about by a direct divine efficiency. And still further, these efforts are not only necessarily vain, they infinitely enhance the guilt and condemnation of the non-elect; and this infinitely enhanced damnation is the certain and inevitable result of God's *compassionate and merciful* action in granting the non-elect continuance of life and the illuminating and quickening influences of the gospel and of the Holy Spirit!

It needs to be carefully noted that in speaking of the elect and the non-elect we have exclusively in mind those classes as determined by the purposes of God formed irrespective of the personal action of those included in them. If it were held that in forming these purposes God has respect to the action of men in the use of common grace and the means of common grace as foreseen, then of course it would not be true as stated above, that there are no valid reasons for believing that the action of the non-elect as a class differs, in any respect, from that of the elect as a class prior to their regeneration. But the theory under consideration denies such a relation of foreknowledge to decrees as this conception implies.

NOT IN GOOD FAITH.

II. This theory in denying virtually, if not explicitly, the love of God for the non-elect, necessarily impugns his sincerity and good faith in dealing with them.

God commands, urges and entreats all men to shun destruction and to accept of offered mercy, expresses the deepest compassion for them, promises them eternal life if they will comply with his requirements, and by the direct operation of his Spirit on their minds greatly heightens the power of appeal which these commands, entreaties, promises, etc., possess, in their own nature, to every rational and right principle of action. Now the good faith of God, in dealing with men in this way, self-evidently implies two things:

1. The existence in him of such a love for them, of such a desire for their salva-

tion, as the expostulations, entreaties, promises, etc., naturally and necessarily imply.

2. The possibility of compliance with the terms of salvation on the ground (1) either of the purpose of election involving their regeneration, (2) or of their ability to renew themselves under the influence of common grace, (3) or of their ability so to use common grace and the means of common grace, as to render the bestowment of regenerating grace, if not certain or highly probable, at least *possible*. But we have shown that the logic of the theory under consideration, according to the exposition of its ablest defenders, denies the existence in God of love for the non-elect in the sense of a desire to save them.

The logic of this theory denies, also, the possibility of the salvation of the non-elect. Since then God has no compassion for them and since, also, their salvation is impossible in every sense of the term—naturally and morally impossible—impossible to them and impossible to God himself—for he cannot reverse his irreversible decrees—for him to invite them to come to him in Jesus Christ, and to promise to receive them graciously *if they will come*, is as manifestly irreconcilable with his sincerity as any course of action which the human mind can conceive of. To speak with the greatest moderation, he cannot but be regarded as tantalizing them with the offer of an infinite but impossible good. What should we say of the sincerity of the captain of a vessel who, seeing some men in the water in mid-ocean, should entreat them to avoid death by drowning, and to come on board his vessel, while having an inflexible purpose, formed irrespective of any request or action on their part, to withhold the aid absolutely necessary to render compliance with his invitation possible? What should we think of the good faith of a physician who, seeing a man faint, and well-nigh helpless from loss of blood from a severed artery, should urge him to avoid death by bleeding, and let the flow of blood be stopped, while having fully determined without consideration of what the sufferer would do, or would refuse to do, to let him bleed to death?

Wherein does the conduct of the captain and the physician, in the cases supposed, fail to represent the action of God, according to the strict Calvinistic theory, in dealing with the non-elect, commanding and entreating them to flee from the wrath to come, and promising that "if they repent he will forgive them, if they believe he will save them," knowing that without a certain kind of assistance—the bestowment of effi-

acious grace—they are as impotent to repent and believe as "a dead man to sit up in his coffin,"—which assistance he determined by an immutable decree not to grant, regardless of what it was foreknown they would do or would refuse to do in relation to his proposals of mercy? Whatever might be said of the *justice* of such a procedure in the case of those involved in sin and guilt, it certainly could not be regarded as *sincere* and *honest*. God does not deal even with the lost spirits in hell in this way, urging them to become reconciled to him and thus to avoid his everlasting displeasure, for he knows that they cannot avoid his displeasure by any method of their own devising, and that he does not intend to provide for them a way of deliverance. And yet the salvation of the impenitent dead, and of the non-elect among the living, are equally impossible and impossible on the same grounds—the immutable decree of God not to save them, and their utter inability to save themselves.

To conclude the discussion of this point. According to the logic of the strict Calvinistic theory this is the condition of those of the non-elect who are appointed to reach the period of responsible action: 1. They begin their existence under condemnation, "subject to death with all its miseries spiritual, temporal and *eternal*." 2. Involved in a moral bondage as "terrible and remorseless as any imprisonment behind iron bars." 3. Abandoned in the decree of God to the state of guilt and depravity in which they are born. 4. As impotent to cease to sin as to cease to exist. 5. Yet illuminated and convicted of sin by the truth providentially enforced. 6. Their illumination and consequent culpability being immeasurably increased by the direct action of the Holy Spirit. 7. Every sin which they commit, even the smallest, rendering them "worthy of damnation." 8. Even their efforts to escape perdition, however earnest and sincere they may be, being not only vain, but sinful and greatly aggravating their doom. 9. Their inevitable and final damnation being, therefore, infinitely more dreadful than it would have been if they had been sent to hell in infancy. We ask again, in what respect would God treat them differently if he were moved by pure, unrestrained, infinite wrath?

But it is urged frequently and with great confidence that the doctrine of reprobation is no more inconsistent with the sincerity of God in his indiscriminate offers of mercy than is that of his infallible foreknowledge. We deny, however, that the

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difficulty of reconciling the good faith of God in his indiscriminate proposals of mercy, arising from his foreknowledge of the final perdition of some of those to whom the proposals are made, is of the same order as that with which we are confronted on the strict Calvinistic theory of reprobation. God put holy angels on trial, knowing that its issue would be disastrous in the case of some of them; but his foreknowledge of this issue is not even apparently inconsistent with his sincerity in the use of means to prevent their fall; for they possessed plenary ability to stand firm in their integrity and were moved to do so by the most powerful influences which could be wisely brought to bear upon them. God was obliged by his absolute ethical perfection to deal with holy angels according to the most perfect method of moral trial, and if he could not prevent the apostasy of some of them, acting according to this method, then, their fall, and consequently his foreknowledge of it, are clearly consistent with his good faith in dealing with them. But if their fall were unavoidable, if Adam's inability to remain holy were as real and absolute as the inability of "the dead to restore themselves to life," then it would be self-evidently impossible to believe in the good faith of God in commanding perfect obedience and in enforcing the command by fearful sanctions.

If, then, God offers pardon and life to men and secures to them through the truth and the operation of the Holy Spirit, full ability to accept the offer or so to strive to accept it that they may be certain or may confidently expect that their striving will be blessed of him with the blessing of renewing and pardoning grace, the fact of his foreknowledge that some would reject the proffered mercy, thus rendering their final condemnation morally necessary, can involve no question of his sincerity in his dealings with them.

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

From *The Newbery House Magazine* (London), May, 1892.

IV.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

It can be readily believed that a great variety of local customs have clustered round such an interesting event as Marriage. Some of these I purpose describing in the present paper.

Most people are aware that according to the old English Church rule, there were certain seasons during which marriage was prohibited. According to the Sarum rite, these seasons were: "From Advent Sunday to the morrow of the Octave of the Epiphany; from Septuagesima to the morrow of the Octave of Easter; and from Rogation Monday to the morrow of Trinity Sunday." A Latin notice to this effect appears in the register-book of Dymchurch in Kent, and a rhyming English one in the Church of St. Mary's, Beverley, dated Nov. 25, 1641. Similar notices will be found in the registers of Wimbush, Essex, and Hornby, Yorkshire. In his charge in 1750, Archbishop Sharp mentions these prohibited times, and they are set down as matters of general information in some of the almanacs of the last century. Bishops and archdeacons were in the habit of inquiring at their visitations whether any, without lawful license, have married during the prohibited seasons. Reference may be made to Bp. Andrewes' Articles, Winchester, 1619 and 1625; to Bp. Cosins in the East Riding, 1627; and to Bp. Montague's at Norwich in 1638.

On the fly-leaf of the register at Everton, Notts, the following doggerel appears:

"Advent marriage doth deny,
But Hilary gives thee liberty.
Septuagesima says thee nay,
Eight days from Easter says you may.
Rogation bids thee to contain,
But Trinity sets thee free again."

In East Anglia there exists an old saying:

"Marry in Lent,
And you'll live to repent."

The publication of Banns is a very ancient Church custom, and three publications in the Church of England were enjoined by the Canons of Westminster in 1200. At the present day the English Church law is most strict in this matter. It is laid down in Can. 62 that: "No minister, upon pain of suspension *per triennium ipso facto*, shall celebrate matrimony between any persons without a faculty or licence granted by some of the persons in these our Constitutions expressed, except the Banns of Matrimony have been first published three several Sundays or Holy days in the time of Divine Service in the Parish Churches or Chapels where the said parties dwell, according to the Book of Common Prayer."

Of course the publication of Banns in church was intended to prevent clandestine marriages, but Dean Comber, as was his wont, gives a more religious reason—to wit,

that those about to marry may have the prayers of their neighbours, who, as he tells us, were accustomed in Yorkshire to respond : " God speed them well."

This congratulatory exclamation was by no means uncommon. Thus at Cromhall, in Gloucestershire, the words were said only after the publication of the Banns for the last time. The custom prevailed at Thornton Steward, in the North Riding of Yorkshire up to 1871, and at Patrick Brompton in the same riding up to 1866.

It was mostly the use for the clerk to pronounce these words, but a friend tells me that when he was at Eyam in Derbyshire, some thirty years ago, the oldest man in the congregation, and not the clerk, was accustomed to pronounce this formula.

Sometimes the words were spoken by the clerk in the course of the Marriage Service, and was called " blessing the couple." Indeed, the custom of pronouncing these words, " God speed 'em well," was very common in olden time, but the occasion on which they were used varied considerably.

There was a curious usage at Norham in the Diocese of Durham, which probably still exists. If the Banns are thrice published, and the marriage does not take place, the refusing party, whether the man or woman, pays forty shillings to the Vicar as a penalty for " scorning the Church."

Let us now consider the customs which are more immediately connected with the Marriage ceremony.

In Wales it was, and I believe still is, the practice to " make a bidding," or to send " bidding letters" on the occasion of a wedding. In towns the custom is confined to servants and mechanics, but in the country, farmers of the humbler sort make biddings. Of late years, tea-parties have, in Carmarthen, been substituted for biddings, but persons attending pay for what they get, and so incur no obligation. When a bidding is made it is usual for a large procession to accompany the young couple to Church, and thence to the house where the bidding is held. This is considered a special compliment. The writer from whom I have gathered the above information states that he has seen (perhaps) six hundred persons in a wedding procession. The men walk together, and the women together, to Church, and in returning, they walk in pairs, or often in threes, one man between two women. In the country they ride, and there is generally a desperate race home to the " bidding." A comely lass with Welsh hat on head, and ordinary dress, often takes

the lead of fifty or a hundred smart fellows over rough roads that would shake your Astley riders out of their seats and propriety.

Here is a form of a bidding letter :

" CARMARTHEN, October, 1850.

" As we intend to enter the matrimonial state on Tuesday, October 22 instant, we are encouraged by our friends to make a bidding on the occasion, the same day at the New Market House, near the Market Place, when and where the favour of your good and agreeable company is respectfully solicited, and whatever donation you may be pleased to confer upon us then will be thankfully received, warmly acknowledged, and cheerfully repaid whenever called for on a similar occasion, by

Your most obedient servants,
HENRY JONES (Shoemaker),
ELIZA DAVIES.

" The young man, his father (John Jones, shoemaker), his sister (Mary Jones), his grandmother (Nurse Jones), his uncle and aunt (George Jones, painter, and Mary his wife), and his aunt (Elizabeth Rees) desire that all gifts due to them be returned to the young man on the above day, and will be thankful for all additional favours.

" The young woman, her father and mother (Evan Davies, pig drover, and Mary his wife), and her brother and sisters (John, Hannah, Jane and Annie Davies) desire that all gifts of the above nature due to them be returned to the young woman on the above day, and will be thankful for all additional favours conferred."

We now come to consider the question as to the proper place in the church where the earlier part of the Marriage Service should be conducted. Some people have thought that to have it in the nave was a mere " Ritualistic" fad, albeit plainly ordered by the Prayer Book Rubric. The Vicar of Kirby Lonsdale has told me that at the reparation of his church, about 1868, he told the old clerk, born in 1788, that he could now take the earlier part of the Marriage Service in the body of the church, and the clerk replied : " That is how it used to be when I was a boy."

At Witham, Essex, it is, or was, the custom to perform the first part of the Marriage Service at the font. When the Rev. A. Snell was appointed to the benefice, in 1873, he spoke to a bridegroom about this usage, and the man particularly requested that he might be married at the font, as he " liked old customs."

As an illustration of the way in which old Church usages die out, I may mention a fact told me by a clerical friend. He was informed by his mother that the custom of reading the first part of the Marriage Service in the body of the church was first broken through at Kelvedon, Essex, by her mother's desire, at the marriage of her eldest sister. The Bishop of London was

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the officiant, and acquiesced. I am sorry to say that in days gone by there have been few more unscrupulous violators of Church order than the bishops.

The pre-Reformation rule was to begin the Marriage Service at the door of the church. In his "Wife of Bath," Chaucer refers to this custom, when he makes her say :—

"Housbondes atte Chirch dore I have had fyve."

This old usage was abandoned by authority in Edward VI.'s time, yet I have reason to think that it was not entirely given up. There is a poem of Robert Herrick's, written about 1640, which is entitled: "The Entertainment, or Porch Verse, at the Marriage of Mr. Henry Northley." Herrick was a Devonshire vicar, and in that county many ancient customs were long retained.

The late Canon Humble has told me that in the North of England he has seen the bridegroom place on the Book a purse containing "all his worldly goods," together with the ring, to show that he gives all to his wife as equally at her disposal.

He mentioned, also, another old usage, viz., that the clergyman was expected to kiss the bride after the register was signed, as an accompaniment to wishing her health and happiness. The late Dr. Raine has recorded how a peculiarly modest priest, who was a stranger, once marrying a couple in a rural parish, was surprised at the wedding party still tarrying in the vestry, and on asking if anything more was wanted, was told by the bridegroom, "You have na kissed Betty;" and he had to do it, though sorely against the grain. Another person had also that privilege, viz., the person who first reached the house after the marriage. In the Border parishes, the horses of the attendants were all tethered outside the churchyard, and as soon as the register was signed all rushed out of the vestry, and a race began, each going across country in hope of winning the coveted prize.

Mr. Henderson tells us that throughout Cleveland he who gives away the bride claims the first kiss in right of his temporary paternity. Referring to the custom mentioned above, of a kiss from the clergyman being expected by the bride, he adds that only a few years before he wrote "a fair lady from the County of Durham, who was married in the South of England, so undoubtedly reckoned upon the clerical salute that, after waiting for it in vain, she boldly took the initiative, and bestowed a kiss upon the much-amazed south country vicar."

In connection with what was said above

about the bridegroom placing a purse on the book, as well as the ring, another curious custom was formerly, and still may be, usual in the North of England. A clergyman describing the first wedding which he celebrated in a northern parish, says that in the vestry, after the service, the bridegroom put half-a-sovereign into his hand, a sum much in excess of the fee, and asked for the change. "I gave it to him (says my informant) according to his request, but as I did so, I plainly observed a shade of displeasure pass over the open countenance of the bride, which was evidently shared by the whole wedding party. I felt conscious of having unwittingly given offence, nor had I long to wait for an explanation. The old clerk, on his return from accompanying the newly-married couple to the church porch, said at once, 'Oh, sir! you should have put the siller into the bride's hand; the money was gi'en you that you might do so.'"

As to another North Country usage, Canon Humble says that he has himself been stopped on the road, and compelled to drink the health of the bride and bridegroom by a posse of young men riding in advance of the party on their way from church. The "best man" undertakes this office, and, it is said, supplies the liquor.

This custom extends also to Scotland. "A dry-lipped" wedding is supposed to be certainly unfortunate.

Money, too, is very frequently in those parts scattered amongst the people gathered round the church. Nothing less than silver was so scattered, and the scramble for it may be imagined.

A Kentish vicar tells me that it is the custom in his parish, when a newly-married couple leave the church, to strew the pathway with the emblems of the bridegroom's calling; so the carpenters walk on shavings, gardeners on flowers, shoemakers on leather parings, etc. He adds:—"I lately officiated at a butcher's wedding here. On leaving the church not only were sheep skins laid down for the married couple to walk on to the church gates, but two men, each with a lamb in his arms, decked with wedding favours, gravely placed themselves at the head of the procession."

I fancy that this custom may be confined to Kent, for the only other instance that I have heard of was told me by the widow of the late Rector of Harrietsham, in that county. This lady remembers a carpenter being married in winter, and the people strewed the church path with shavings for the bride and bridegroom to walk over when they left the church.

In Cumberland, as I understand, it is quite against the rule for the fathers or mothers of the parties to attend a marriage. The Rev. A. G. Loftie, of Beckermest, tells me that he has had but one father doing so in nine years, and only two in twelve years. An old farmer who lived on the borders of Scotland, gave as a reason for this that the idea is still in force that the bridegroom runs away with the bride without the parents' consent. The old custom was for him to take her up behind him on his horse, and to gallop away with her.

In the village of Whitbourn, near Sunderland, a singular local custom still exists. It appears that it is usual there to send what are called "hot-pots" to the church, to meet the bride and bridegroom coming out. A gentleman of that place, says Mr. Henderson, thus describes his own marriage: "After the vestry scene, the bridal party having formed in procession on leaving the church, we were stopped in the porch by a row of five or six women ranged on our left hand, each holding a large mug with a cloth over it. These were in turn handed to me, and handed by me to my wife, who after taking a sip returned it to me. It was then handed to the next couple, and so on in the same form to all the party. The composition in these mugs was mostly, I am sorry to say, simply horrible, one or two very fair, and one very good. They are sent to the church by all classes, and are considered a great compliment. I have never heard of the custom elsewhere. Here it has existed beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant, and an aged fishwoman, who has been married some sixty-five years, tells us that at her wedding there were seventy hot-pots."

Can Shakespeare be alluding to this custom when he says:

"After many ceremonies done
He calls for wine:—A health, quoth he, as if
He had been aboard, carousing to his mates
After a storm—quaffed off the muscadell,
And threw the sops all in the sexton's face;
Having no other reason
But that his beard grew thin and hungerly.
And seemed to ask for sops as he was drinking."
"Taming of the Shrew," Act iii. scene 2.

Here is another, and a somewhat prettier custom.

A correspondent to *Notes and Queries* some thirty years back stated that "On the occasion of his marriage in Glamorganshire, nearly twenty years before, and in passing through the village adjoining that in which the ceremony had been performed, his carriage was stayed by the villagers holding a

band of twisted evergreens and flowers, who good-humouredly refused to let his wife and himself pass until he had paid them a toll."

Akin to this, another correspondent states that when he was holding a curacy in Somersetshire, adjoining the Bristol Channel, the village children, on the occasion of a wedding, used to fasten the gates of the Church with evergreens and flowers. A silver key was required to unloose the bond,

In the village of Belford, in Northumberland, a singular usage prevails—that of making the bridal pair and their attendants leap over a stone placed in their path outside the church porch. This is called the "loup-ing" or "petting" stone; and it is said on the spot that the bride must leave all her pets and humours behind when she crosses it. At the neighbouring village of Embleton two stout young lads place a wooden bench across the door of the church porch, assist the bride and bridegroom and their friends to surmount the obstacle, and then look out for a donation from the bridegroom. A very similar custom to this is in use at Crosby Ravensworth, in Westmoreland.

Perhaps a Scottish Presbyterian custom may, without impropriety, be introduced here, by way of illustration of what has been said above.

It is well known that in the Scottish Establishment the wedding is often performed at the house of the bride. About the time that the young couple are expected to start on their marriage jaunt all the boys and girls in the neighbourhood assemble in front of the house, and amuse themselves by calling out: "Bell money," "Bell money;" "Shabby wedding—canna spare a baw-bee." These shouts are redoubled when the door is opened to let the bride and bridegroom out, who are accompanied to the carriage by most of the company; and, as the pushing of the crowd would be inconvenient, some one of the party at that moment showers a lot of coppers and small silver amongst them, thereby drawing their attention from the young folks, who, under cover of the diversion, are driven off.

A curious marriage superstition is commonly, as I am told, held in the southern part of Yorkshire. It is believed that at the marriage ceremony the person who speaks the loudest will die first.

Several instances have been given of a friendly feeling being commonly evoked on the occasion of a marriage. The following instance of a curse being pronounced on such an event is interesting, albeit unpleasant. The ritual, as it may be termed, by

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A clergyman married a couple in 1850 in a parish in Kent. An old woman, an aunt of the bridegroom, displeased at the marriage, stood at the church gate, and pronounced an anathema upon the married pair. She then bought a new broom, went home, swept her house, and hung the broom over her door. By this she indicated the rejection of her nephew and forbade him to enter the house. She had probably some precedent for this, but I know not what it was.

Let us turn to a more pleasing marriage usage. A Lincolnshire Vicar states that from time immemorial it has been the custom for the wedding party to accompany the bride and bridegroom in a walk round the village in the evening after tea. This is still done, but it is not so common as it once was.

We find in various connections some odd fancies prevailing among our ancestors relative to the use of church doors. Here is one related to me by the Rev. A. C. Lefroy. At Longdon, near Tewkesbury, the people had a custom at weddings of going into church at one door and out at another. "This," says my correspondent, "I learnt when I was repairing my church on first coming to the parish in 1868, and happened to close up the second outlet."

In connection with this I may mention what a lady of Torquay has told me as to an idea which was popularly retained at Mochard Bishop, in North Devon. It was there thought ill-luck to a newly married pair if they chanced to leave the church by the small door on the north side, which was always used by the clergy.

Not many years ago, as the Vicar informs me, when a wedding of any importance occurred at Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, it was usual for the Altar to be covered with a tablecloth, and for two oval glass dishes to be placed thereon. It would seem that these dishes were intended to receive donations from the wedding party when they went to the Altar to assist in signing the register.

A custom prevails, or did prevail, at Manchester, as I am informed by a resident there, of giving to the first couple married in a new church a Bible—of the "Family" variety if the priest is generous, and can afford it—and also a Prayer Book.

I find that a very curious practice is followed in some villages in the North of Nottinghamshire. Wheat is thrown over a newly married couple, with the exclamation,

"Bread for life, and pudding forever," whatever that may mean. In Sussex also wheat is thrown over a bride and bridegroom. The throwing of rice at a carriage when a newly joined couple are departing is similar to this, and of course is intended to represent symbolically a wish that the bridal may be a fruitful one.

The following custom I imagine to be peculiar to the Scottish Establishment, but nevertheless I venture to put it on record. Speaking of what took place in the last century, a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says that "in their marriages (Inverness is especially mentioned) they do not use the ring as in England, but the bride, if she be of the middle class, is conducted to Church by two men, who take her under the arms, and hurry the poor unwilling creature along the streets as a pickpocket is dragged to a horse-pond in London, she having been attended the evening before by her bridesmaids, who with great ceremony wash her feet."

An odd formality, I understand, took place at Galashiels in 1867, which the parties believed to constitute a legal marriage. They each took a handful of meal, and knelt down, facing each other, after placing a basin between them. Both then put their handful of meal in the basin, and mixed it, in token that they would not sever till death did them part. After swearing to this effect on the Bible, they rose up, and declared themselves man and wife. This was chronicled in the *Scotsman* at the time, but I am unable to give the reference.

"Anybody who cares to turn to February 15 in Chambers' 'Book of Days' will find some very curious information about odd marriages which, at one time or another, have taken place. The article is far too long to quote, but one or two extracts may be interesting. Amongst other things, it is noted that the announcement of marriages published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* during the greater part of the last century included a very precise statement of the portions brought by the several brides. Thus:

"Mr. N. Tillotson, an eminent preacher among the people called Quakers, and a relative of Archbishop Tillotson, to Miss — with £7000."

Here is another excerpt:

"Mr. P. Bowen to Miss Nicholls, of Queenhithe, with £10,000."

The next bridegroom appears to have done rather better pecuniarily:

"Sir George C—to the widow Jones, with £1000 a year, besides ready money."

The Rev. W. J. Loftie, F.S.A., has extracted the following from the newspaper of a former day :

"Feb. 1769.—Thomas Fitzhugh, Esq., to Miss Lloyd, with £10,000.

"July 1769.—Bysshe Shelley, Esq., to the Hon. Miss Sydney, £80,000."

Numbers more might be quoted, but those above will serve as a fair specimen of the announcements which, to our modern taste, appear sufficiently ill-judged, not to say impertinent. The article above mentioned also gives some quaint instances of persons who, so to speak, had been very much married, and is well worth referring to.

We come now to a very curious custom, which was not unusual in days gone by.

In a communication made to *Notes and Queries* some fifteen years ago there were given a number of instances, ranging from 1723 to 1840, of women having been married "in the smock," or in a sheet. This was done from a mistaken notion that it freed the husband from responsibility for the woman's debts; and in one case, to wit at Whitehaven in 1766, it was resorted to with the idea that it would protect the woman's property from the creditors of her husband. On one occasion we are told that the lady came to Church without any clothes on at all, but the parson, not unnaturally perhaps, refused to officiate. I have, however, read of a clergyman who, under similar circumstances, went through the service, on the ground that nothing was said in the rubric about the woman's dress. This gentleman evidently did not adopt the view taken by the judges in the *Mackonochie* case, that "Omission is Prohibition"—it had not been invented in his day.

The following extract is from a Wiltshire register: "John Bridmore and Anne Selwood, both of Chiltern, All Saints, were married Oct. 17, 1714. The aforesaid Anne Selwood was married in her smock, without any clothes or head gear on."

A gentleman, writing to *Notes and Queries* in 1853, stated that his brother, when curate of a parish in Lincolnshire, officiated at the marriage of a woman who was enveloped only in a sheet. I cite the instance to show that the strange custom has continued to within a measurable distance from our own day. This is the latest case of the kind that I know of.

Among the many clerical scandals prevalent in the former half of the last century

were what were known as "Fleet Marriages." These were so common that between October 19, 1704, and February 12, 1705, no fewer than 295 were celebrated within the "Rules" without licence or certificate of banns. The marriages were generally performed in some low public house, or barber's shop. The officiants were clergymen of the lowest type, who were confined in the Fleet for debt. Sometimes publicans kept these clerics on a salary of twenty shillings a week. Other tavern keepers gave £25 a year, with board and lodging, to these disreputable clerical debtors; fitting up one of the rooms as a chapel, and pocketing the fees. Advertisements were exhibited or published, inviting people to come and be married without the usual restrictions. Here is a specimen:—"G. R. At the true Chapel at the Old Red Hand and Mitre, three doors up Fleet Lane, and next door to the White Swan, marriages are performed by authority by the Rev. Mr. Symson, educated at the University of Cambridge, and late chaplain to the Earl of Rothes. N. B. Without imposition." Touts were employed to get customers, and received a shilling each. Some of these clergymen officiated at their own lodgings, but the majority were employed by the keepers of the marriage houses. The landlord usually acted as clerk, and if the clergyman were not salaried, they divided the fee between them. Each marriage house had a regular register.

In 1821 the Government purchased some of these registers, and deposited them with the registrar of the Consistory Court of London. Thus the scandalous practices which had been enacted at the Fleet, became better known. Many of these entries were falsified, as for example:—

"5 Novr. 1742, was married Benjamin Richards of the Parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Br., and Judith Lance, do. spinster, at the Bull and Garter, and gave [a guinea] for an antidote to March y^e 11th in the same year, which Lilley comply'd with, and put 'em in his book accordingly, there being a vacancy in the book suitable to the time."

Here is another, which, to say the least, has an odd sound.

"Mrs. Comyns gave me half a guinea to find a bridegroom and defray all expenses. Parson, 2s. 6d.; husband, do.; and 5s. 6d. myself."

Chambers, who gives this choice extract, adds:—"We find one man married four times, under different names, receiving five shillings on each occasion 'for his trouble.'"

Both the above entries appear to have

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come from private registers. It seems to have been no uncommon thing for the keepers of these marriage houses to provide a bridegroom!

Pennant says that in walking by the prison in his youth he has often been accosted with "Sir, will you please to walk in and be married?" And he states that painted signs of a male and female hand conjoined with the inscription "Marriages performed within," were common along the building.

Whoever wanted to be married quickly and quietly, without exposure or injury, resorted to the Fleet. The registers contain the names of all kinds of persons both gentle and simple; and not a few names of highly titled folk have a place in the records, as for example, Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, who, in 1744, ran away with Lady Caroline Lenox, eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond. The following covers a good deal of ground:—"Magistrates and parochial authorities helped to swell the gains of the Fleet parsons; the former settling certain cases by sending the accused to the Altar, instead of to the gallows, and the latter getting rid of a female pauper by giving a gratuity to some poor wretch belonging to another parish to take her for better or for worse."

To us all this seems monstrous, and though for many years tolerated by our ancestors, things got to such a pitch that in 1753 a Bill was introduced by Lord Hardwick which became law the following year, making the Solemnisation of Matrimony in any other but a church or chapel, and without Banns or Licence, felony punishable by transportation, and declaring all such marriages null and void.

The Chaplain of the Savoy, however, on the plea that being extra-parochial the incumbent of that church was not bound by the New Marriage Laws, ventured to issue licences. A public advertisement was actually put forth in 1754 to this effect:—"By authority. Marriages performed with the utmost privacy, decency, and regularity, at the Ancient Royal Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Savoy, where regular and authentic registers have been kept from the time of the Reformation (being two hundred years and upwards) to this day. The expense not more than one guinea, the five shilling stamp included. There are five private ways to this chapel, and two by water." We are told that in 1755 the chaplain married no less than 1190 couples. The authorities began to move, and a curate, one Grierson, was appointed, the chaplain him-

self disappearing from public, but still issuing licences. The result was that they were both tried and convicted, and each was sentenced to fourteen years transportation, and 1400 marriages were declared void.

The term "Mayfair Marriages" is a more or less familiar one. The Rev. Alexander Keith had a chapel there, built in 1730, and carried on a great business in matrimony. He is said to have married nearly two hundred couples in one day, and the day before the Marriage Act came into operation no less than sixty-one couples were united there.

But if for a time there were such scandals in the English Church, the Presbyterians in Scotland were not in a position to throw stones.

About 1745 there existed a sort of Gretna Green in the Canongate, Edinburgh. A gentleman writing from Perth quotes the *Newgate Kalendar*:—"It was customary for some of the ministers of the Church of Scotland, who were out of employment, to marry people at the alehouses in the same manner that the Fleet marriages are conducted in London. Sometimes people of fortune thought it prudent to apply to these marriage brokers, but as their chief business lay amongst the lower ranks of people, they were deridingly called by the name of 'Buckle the Beggars.' Most of these marriages were solemnised at public-houses in the Canongate."

Not long ago public attention was arrested by a somewhat sensational breach of promise case, in which the jury found £10,000 damages for the lady plaintiff. It was generally supposed at the time that such a claim for damages had never been heard of before. Few persons were aware that, in 1747, one Miss David, of Cattle Yard, Holborn, brought a similar action against the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Prebendary of Worcester, Canon of Lincoln, and vicar of Newark-upon-Trent. The damages were laid at £10,000, and the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with £7,000 damages. In this case, it would seem that there had been some kind of formal betrothal ceremony, for the paragraph from which I quote goes on to state that "they both had declared the same (*i.e.*, the engagement) publicly in a solemn manner."

What were known as "Penny Weddings" were formerly common in Scotland. When a servant-maid had behaved well in a place, her master and mistress frequently made what was called "a penny wedding" for her when she married. They provided a dinner or supper, and invited all their relations and

friends; and in the evening, when there was music and dancing, the bride went round, and saluted all the men, during which ceremony every person in the company put money into a dish, according to their inclination or ability, and by this means the new-married couple often procured a sum to begin the world with very comfortably for persons of their condition.

The following curious information has been sent to me by the Rev. Ernest Geldart, Rector of Little Braxted, Witham, Essex, where, by the way, is one of the tiniest, but one of the prettiest, country churches that I ever saw. In looking over the register of marriages in his church he came upon the following item:—

“May 21, 1730. John Fitch, single man, . . . and Mary Borley, single woman, . . . were married by licence.”

This, my friend tells me, is the first entry in the Register of Little Braxted Church, and, taken by itself, it is not very remarkable. But when the next entry is the same (with change of names), and the next but one again the same, it naturally occurs to the reader that some cause had been at work to produce an effect so apparently unlikely in a small country parish 150 years ago.

He accordingly set himself to analyse the marriage returns, with the following results:—

	2 Marriages by Licence.	1 by Banns.
1730. 1	“	0
1733. 1	“	“
1735. 1	“	1
1743. 3	“	1
1746. 1	“	0
1749. 1	“	0
1751. 2	“	0
1752. 1	“	0
1754. 1	“	0

It should be mentioned that the present population of the parish, which probably was never much larger, is only 117.

From 1755 onwards the marriages were by Banns, or “Bands,” as some of the officiating ministers preferred to spell it, with few exceptions. The licensing system seems to take a fresh start in 1784, when this entry occurs:—

“Marriages entered according to Act of Parliament by Licence granted instead of stamps.”

What the cause of the “Licence” was may, probably, be gathered from an examination of the dates (when they are given) of the Banns.

Usually the entry contains no reference to any particular date of “asking,” but simply states, in these or similar words, that the contracting parties had been

“asked in church, on three several Sundays, and no impediment alledged.”

When, however, the register enters into details the dates stand thus:—August 5, August 19, September 12; January 12, January 26, February 9; &c.

Here is the probable solution of the problem.

The question is—Why should labouring “single men and single women” seek marriage by licence, whether granted by “the Archdeacon of Colchester,” or by “licence instead of stamps, according to Act of Parliament”?

Now for the answer.

Because the parish church was so seldom opened that it was difficult to get Banns published, even at intervals of a fortnight. The officiating minister makes no reference to clerical liberality, but it seems probable that the non-resident rector preferred to pay the costs of stamps or licence on the rare occasion of a wedding, rather than be taxed by the provision of regular “duty.”

How rare were the visits of the rector may be judged by the fact that no entry stands in the rector's name from the beginning to the end of the book—1730 to 1813. For the first three years, however, the entries are unsigned, but written in a hand bearing some resemblance to that of “Norman Mead, Rector,” who wrote the title of the book. After that come entries by “Curates,” “Ministers,” “Officiating Ministers,” following each other in due succession.

At the end of one entry there is, written with a triumphant flourish, “Duty paid thus far.”

A few words on the taxes on marriages, &c., imposed in William III.'s reign will be interesting. In a letter to *Notes and Queries*, some forty years ago, Mr. C. Ross has put the matter so tersely that I cannot do better than utilise his communication.

He says that the first instance of a tax on marriage in this country of which he is aware occurred in the 5th of William and Mary, c. 21. The war in which William was engaged soon rendered it necessary to tax other incidents of humanity, and accordingly the 6th and 7th of William III. c. 6 was passed, granting to his Majesty certain rights upon marriages, births, deaths, and burials, and upon bachelors and widowers—a widely-spread net—for the term of five years, “for carrying on the war against France with vigour.” The taxes on births, marriages, and burials were continued indefinitely by 7th and 8th William III. c. 35. The writer cannot state when

this Act was repealed, but by the 23rd George III. c. 67, taxes were again imposed on burials, births, marriages, and christenings, and by 25th George III. c. 75, the taxes were extended to Dissenters. By 34th George III. c. 11, these taxes were repealed, and they ceased on October 1, 1794.

THE LATE DR. ALLON.

MEMORIAL SERMON BY DR. R. W. DALE.*

From *The British Weekly* (Nonconformist), London, April 28, 1892.

"They watch in behalf of your souls, as they that shall give account."—Hebrews xiii. 17.

THE shadow of death lies heavy on the heart of this congregation. Christ has revealed a great and eternal glory beyond the grave, and even this morning you have been able to rejoice in that glory with exulting songs. But the revelation has increased rather than diminished our sensitiveness to the mystery and awe of death itself. It is the common lot. Through generation after generation, and in all lands, it has exercised the speculations of men as well as alarmed their fears, broken their hearts and desolated their homes. But familiarity has not soothed the agitation with which we regard it, or made it less mysterious. A man was with us yesterday, our neighbour, our friend, one of our nearest kindred, standing on the common earth, breathing in the common air, spending his thought and strength perhaps on some common mechanical trade, his mind worn with the small anxieties and vexations of some obscure business. He shared his troubles with us and his joys, all that he felt and all that he knew he could tell us. That yesterday; but now he is altogether beyond our reach. He is living under other skies. He finds repose and strength and joy in eternal things. The great secret has been disclosed to him. But the conditions of his new life are unknown to us, nor is it possible for him to satisfy our craving to know it.

The solemnity and impressiveness of death are deepened when it is sudden and unexpected, or when it terminates the activity of great powers which have been employed in great service rendered to man and God. Of the suddenness of the calamity which has fallen upon us all I do not care to say anything in this place. Let us rather dwell

upon it in solitary thought, asking anxiously whether if death came as suddenly and as unexpectedly to ourselves we should be ready to meet it. But of the great work prolonged through so many years which has now been brought to a close, of the circumstances and conditions under which the work was done, and of the power which the work illustrates—intellectual power, power of faith, power of affection, power of character—of these it is necessary to speak this morning. "They watch in behalf of your souls as they that shall give account."

In these words the unknown writer of this Epistle describes the work of the leaders, the pastors, the bishops of the Christian church in every country throughout all time. Other men may render other forms of service, service necessary for the support, and ease, and delight, of the physical life; or they may enrich the intellect of the race with new and precious discoveries of the laws of the material universe, or with splendid creations of art; or, may be, the defence and security and independence of their country in the midst of war; or they may strengthen the foundations of law, and add new guarantees to national freedom and prosperity in times of peace. But the leaders and pastors of the Church, they have other duties. It is for them to watch in behalf of the souls of their people. This is their definite and distinctive trust, and they are to discharge it as men who at last must give account to Christ of their fidelity.

The metaphor, as you know, is one common in the writings of the ancient prophets, and would recall to the Jewish readers of the Epistle many passages in their sacred books. A city is threatened by predatory wandering tribes, or by the armies of a more formidable enemy. The watchmen stand on the walls day and night to give instant alarm on the first approach of the foe. On their constant vigilance or keenness of eye depends the safety of the city. If they sleep, or if they are unable to discern at a distance the signs that the enemy is coming, or if they are easily deceived and mistake foes for friends, the city may be suddenly surprised and lost. In the evil days of the Jewish state, when the political and religious leaders of the people cared nothing for justice or mercy, or for the true service of God, and sanctioned the crimes of the people instead of rebuking them, a great prophet said, "These watchmen are blind, they are without knowledge, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark"—that is, to give warning that the enemy is near—dreaming, lying down, loving to slumber.

* Preached in Union Chapel, Islington, on Sunday morning last. Verbatim Report.

And there have been dreary times in the history of the Christian Church, when its ministers have been equally ineffective, equally indolent, equally faithless, and when as the result of their ignorance and unfaithfulness the great part of Christendom has been laid waste by superstition, or by unbelief, by selfishness, by covetousness, by lust, by hypocrisy, by falsehoods concerning God and man, which destroy the very substance of the Christian faith. The ministers of the Christian Church had ceased to watch in behalf of the souls of their people.

TOWN AND COUNTRY CHURCHES : A CONTRAST.

The conditions under which this work has to be done are greatly varied, and therefore its methods must be greatly varied. For example, how great a contrast there is between the position of a minister of a congregation like this and that of a minister living in a Devonshire or Worcestershire village with a single street, of four or five hundred inhabitants, who preaches on fine Sundays to a congregation of eighty or a hundred people, a congregation drawn in part from the cottages in the village and in part from the surrounding hamlets and farms. The work of both is in substance the same and must have the same infinite issues. How different must be their methods of labour. It seems to me, indeed, as if in a church and congregation like this, with numbers so large, scattered over this vast city, it is impossible for the minister to be in any true sense of the word pastor, and to watch in behalf of the souls of his people. But this impression rests on a false conception of pastoral work, or at least on a conception which is much too narrow. Indeed I think it rests in part on a rather careless misinterpretation of passages like that which I have selected as a description of a pastor's duty. For there are many persons who seem to suppose that such passages require the minister to watch the people. But what the writer of this Epistle says is not that he is to watch the people, but that he is to be always wakeful and vigilant in behalf of the people, which is quite another matter. I do not underestimate the great value of that intimate knowledge of the actual thought and life of every member of his congregation which is possible to a pastor in a village or a small country town. He knows them so well that he is able to watch the development of their individual character, and can check with timely warning and wise counsel tendencies to grave vice or to religious indifference. He may

be able to assist them privately in discovering a solution of moral and spiritual difficulties which it would not occur to him to discuss in public. He can give to each of them separately guidance and aid in the formation of religious belief. In a congregation so small that the details of every man's conduct are almost certain to come to the knowledge of the minister, unwillingness to give the minister pain, or of provoking his displeasure and remonstrance, may be a check to careless and indolent moral habits and a defence and support to high Christian performances. But it is foreign to our traditional conception of the true discipline of Christian perfection for the spiritual life to be subjected to the perpetual ascendancy and control of the ministers of the church. We prefer a man-made freedom. We reject the claims of the priest, we also dispense with the authority of the spiritual director. It is better that the individual soul should be largely left alone with Christ and with the Spirit of Christ. The mutual watchfulness of the members of the church is indeed an admirable aid to Christian joy and an admirable protection to Christian righteousness, for in this mutual watchfulness there is something given as well as something received. And the freedom of the Christian soul in Christ is unimpaired. It is exempt from the evils which are almost certain to accompany too constant and too close a control of the individual life of the people by the minister.

DR. ALLON AS A PASTOR.

In a congregation like this such control was not possible. If Dr. Allon had written nothing, if he had never preached for other churches, if he had not spent more than two hours a day in his study, and had given all the rest of his time to visitation, he could not have seen and talked with every one of you more than a very few times in the course of a year. It was often indeed a surprise to me, at a time when the membership of the church was already very large, that he knew so many of them, knew some of you so well, and knew so much about many more with whom he could seldom have any personal intercourse. It was a surprise to me that he was able, under the constant pressure of multifarious engagements, to see the sick members of his church so often, and to find out so promptly those who were in trouble. From the beginning of his ministry till he had long passed middle life he had large and successful Bible-classes, and in these he exercised what might be called a pastoral superintendence over

the young people. To the very end you know with what warmth and cordiality he received you when you sought his counsel, how patiently he dealt with your difficulties.

But, after all, it was in this pulpit that he discharged the greater part of his pastoral duty. He watched in behalf of your souls, knowing that he would have to give account of his trust; and it was here that he endeavoured, under God, to save you from sin and from eternal death, and to give you fortitude and endurance in the great endeavour to make sure glory and honour and immortality. He watched in behalf of those of you who have not yet consented to receive the Christian redemption and to acknowledge Christ as your Saviour and your Lord. He saw the perils which menace you, perils which you cannot see, and tried to rescue you from them—the peril of regarding sin with increasing indifference, as though it were nothing more than a part of the necessary development of the moral life of man, instead of a great violation of the Divine order, and the proof of a deeply-rooted resistance to the Divine Father; the peril of a growing insensibility to the attraction and charm of the Christian gospel, and an increasing absorption in the pleasures and pursuits of this transitory world; the peril of that gradual limitation of your moral freedom and that gradual diminution of your very capacity for receiving the Divine grace which must result from the formation of the settled habits of a life persistently withdrawn from the control of the divine righteousness and love.

These perils he saw. They filled him with apprehension for you. He recurred again and again to those great truths which he thought likely to awaken your conscience and to move your heart. He saw the perils which menace those of you who have already made the supreme choice, and who already know something of the power and glory of the Christian redemption. He considered by what statements and illustrations of the contents of the Christian gospel he could save you from these perils, could maintain the fainting strength of your faith in God, rekindle the sinking fires of your love for Christ, renew and augment your joy in your eternal redemption. He watched in behalf of your souls, and his preaching was determined by the moral dangers to which the various descriptions of persons in this congregation are exposed—the perils of poverty and the perils of wealth; the perils of a lonely and cheerless life, the perils of a life of excitement and pleasure; the perils of a life of ease, the greater perils of busi-

ness. And he endeavoured not only to protect you from falling into grave sins, but to maintain and to raise your moral ideals of life. He thought, and thought much, of the isolation of the young men and women who have always formed so large a proportion of this congregation; young men and young women who have come from villages and country towns in England, Scotland, and Wales to seek their fortunes in this great city. He knew their dangers, and endeavoured in his preaching to give robustness to their determination to stand fast in their integrity and in their loyalty to Christ.

He watched the strong currents of cotemporary thought, and considered how they were likely to affect for good or for evil the foundations of your religious faith, your intellectual conceptions of Christian truth, your moral habits, the temper of your religious life. And in the interests of your perfection he spoke to you in this place about great poets and famous philosophers and scientific discoverers. He discussed the doubts and difficulties of our time which have an injurious influence on the faith and conduct of Christian men. He watched in behalf of your souls. He saw that if you cared only to save yourselves you would not be saved, that the imitation of Christ requires you to instruct the ignorant, to pity and relieve the miserable, to seek and to save the lost. He therefore urged you to find noble forms of Christian usefulness, and appealed to you to consecrate personal service as well as money to their maintenance. He was not content with urging you to care for the neglected and the sinful who are within your reach. He saw that the compassion of the church should reach as far as the mercy of God and the sacrifice of Christ. He called upon you to demonstrate your faith in the love of God for all mankind by large and generous gifts for the support of Christian missions throughout the world.

He watched in behalf of your souls. His mind travelled far, ranged over many and varied provinces of literature, and was keenly interested in many lines of speculation. He had free and constant intercourse with eminent men whose religious beliefs were very different from his own, and with some who had passed into the sunless seas of doubt. But he cared supremely for your salvation. And from his reading and his intercourse with scientific men, with men of letters, and with politicians, he was drawing materials which he used in this pulpit to give security and strength to your religious

faith, and a larger and more gracious development to your moral character.

This was his work for nearly fifty years. When he stood in this pulpit it was not merely to interest and to charm, or even to instruct you. To him the work of the preacher had the most august dignity, the most awful seriousness. It was related to the infinite mystery of the incarnation, the death and resurrection of the Son of God, and to the judgment-seat at which preacher and hearer alike must give account of themselves before God. That during all the years of his prolonged ministry his vigilance never relaxed, and that mortal weakness, the successes, the sorrows, and the intellectual excitements of his life never made his vision of eternal things dim and uncertain, he himself would have been the last to declare. He would have served you far less faithfully if his ideal of faithfulness had not transcended achievement. But I am sure of this—and I think I knew his very heart—I am sure of this, that his greatest work, his work as your pastor, held the greatest place in his thought and life. And if I am to give in fewest words a just account of what he was and what he did, I find it here, "He watched in behalf of your souls." He has now gone to give account of his work to Christ. You in your turn will have to give account of how you have profited by it.

A TRANSITION PERIOD.

Secondly, when this Epistle was written, the work of the leaders and pastors of the Hebrew churches was carried on under conditions of exceptional difficulty. They had to defend and confirm the faith of large numbers of Christian men who were in danger of drifting away from Christ, and surrendering the great hope of the Gospel. For a long time after the crucifixion and ascension of our Lord, the large majority of the Jews who acknowledged Him as the Christ, for whom through so many centuries their fathers had been waiting, retained the great body of their national beliefs and national customs. They worshipped in the temple, they kept their Jewish festivals, they believed in the permanent authority of their ancient law, they still hoped for the restoration of the kingdom to Israel. But as the years went on, it became plainer and plainer, while the substance of their faith was enduring, its form would have to be greatly changed. They were being forced to make their choice between the nation and the church, between tradition and a new life, and that which had come to them in Christ. This compulsion came upon

them when the passion of national independence among their countrymen was burning with a fierce heat. The Hebrew Christians were in great straits. With their fiery patriotism, with their memories of the glories and wrongs of their race, how was it possible for them to resist the strong currents of national feeling which were sweeping the nation forward to the great revolt against the mighty heathen power which held in its iron grasp the elect people of God? Was it possible for them to be traitors to the hopes of their race at such a time as this? But as long as any large number of Jews held fast to their belief that Jesus was the Christ, there was a schism in the national life and the national strength was broken. The peril of their position would have been lessened if their own Christian belief had been clear and firm. But, as I have suggested, at the very time that the national temper made the strain on their loyalty to Christ so severe, they had largely to re-construct their whole conception of the contents of their new faith. They were being forced to part with ancient religious traditions which they had hoped to retain. They were discovering that, in the light of the Christian gospel, sacred institutions were transitory which they had supposed were to last for ever. The writer of this Epistle endeavoured to reassure them by showing that in the Kingdom of God—a Kingdom that cannot be shaken—temple, priesthood, sacrifices, were not lost, but transfigured, and that in the ancient faith itself there were the clearest indications that the external institutions in which it was for a time expressed were to pass away. But the position of the Hebrew Christian was perplexed and painful, and the leaders of the Church, who watched in behalf of their souls, required very exceptional faith, firmness, consideration and wisdom.

HIS EARLY MINISTRY.

When Dr. Allon began his ministry, Congregational churches in this country were passing into a time of difficulty which, though less severe than that which tried the faith of these Hebrew Christians, has been sufficiently formidable. The force of the great evangelical revival was almost spent. The first and the second generations of its leaders were dead. The third generation had passed the meridian of their strength. The young men who were entering the Congregational ministry in 1840, and the next ten years, were beginning to subject the intellectual contents of the evangelical faith to criticism. Already the evangelical theol-

ogy was in a state of transition. The older Christian ministers of the time still said they were Calvinists, but their Calvinism was not the Calvinism of the Westminster Assembly. The bold and grand outlines of the older system—which not only impressed the imagination, but by their very sublimity sometimes suppressed and awed the protest of the revolting intellect—had this effect, and Congregational ministers during the first half of this century had constructed for themselves what must be called an eclectic theology, and they named it Moderate Calvinism. The men who entered the ministry between 1840 and 1850 began to ask whether this Moderate Calvinism was a coherent system, or whether it was not built on principles which were mutually destructive. They asked whether its account of the relation between God and man answered to the facts; to the facts which were asserted by the ethical and religious consciousness of Christian men. They examined in detail the Scriptural texts which were commonly quoted in support of its principal doctrines. They doubted whether the vehement expression of religious emotion in the Psalms could be legitimately treated as scientific statements of doctrine. They wondered whether the rules of Judaism were really mysterious symbols which must have been almost unintelligible while it was a religious obligation to celebrate them, and which did not receive their interpretation, and then only a partial interpretation, when their activity had passed away. They asked whether isolated texts in the New Testament were sufficient to constitute the proof of a Christian doctrine, or whether we should not rather rely on the general substance of the teaching of our Lord and His apostles. Questions of a still more searching kind were raised. What is the real nature of inspiration? What are its limits? Does it relate only to the religious substance of the books written by inspired men or also to their form? If only to their religious substance, how much must be included in their form, only the words or the whole intellectual and literary conception in which the substance is expressed? In the earlier years of his ministry Dr. Allon had to confront the relentless criticism to which Strauss subjected the four Gospels, and to consider what strength there was in the argument that instead of containing the story of Christ as told by the men who listened to His teaching and saw His miracles, they preserve an unhistorical and mythical conception of our Lord which was created by the enthusiasm, the devotion,

the impassioned imagination of the second and third generation of His disciples. This was succeeded by the still more formidable theory, supported by infinite ingenuity and great learning, that the larger part of the documents of the New Testament were written in the course of the second century in the interests of conflicting tendencies in the Christian Church or to promote their reconciliation. Then came the great discussion concerning the origin of the books contained in the first part of the Old Testament. To give a further impulse to the intellectual revolution of our time, there came new and brilliant scientific theories on the history of the material universe, and the emergence and development of the highest forms of life from the lowest—theories which enforced a revision of previous conceptions of the divine method of creation and of the present relations of the Eternal to the work of His hands. These immense controversies, originated in the speculations and researches of scholars and of eminent scientific discoverers, and carried on at first in university lecture rooms and in books written for the learned, soon began to disturb the thoughts and to alarm the fears of ordinary Christian people. The results of modern scholarship—the final results as they were often described, though they had to submit to frequent revision—and the definite conclusions of modern science found their way through a thousand channels to the popular mind, and it was declared that they were wholly and irreconcilably inconsistent with Christian faith. It was impossible for a congregation like this to be unaffected by this vast and imposing intellectual movement, and year by year, as it seemed to become more and more formidable, your pastor had to take account of it while he watched in behalf of your souls. You know what courage, what character, what open-mindedness, what firmness, what wisdom he showed through all this confused and distracting time. He never, so far as I can remember, gave way to the wild and irrational panic which more than once or twice took possession of large numbers of Christian people. And this was not because he himself had not felt the weight of the difficulties which pressed so heavily on the traditional creed; for the storm broke upon him, as it broke upon every cultivated minister of his generation, before it reached you. He was revising and amending his own definitions of Christian doctrine, reconstructing his own theory of divine revelation, and of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in which the revelation is recorded,

examining the foundations of his own conception of the relations of God to the universe while he was defending and confirming your faith. I wonder how many of you appreciated the tremendous difficulty of his position. It may be hardly possible for all of you to appreciate it fully, but if, through God's grace, he has saved you from losing the infinite hopes of the Gospel which during these troubled years so many have lost; if you still find consolation and strength in the divine love and peace of conscience in Christ, the propitiation for the sin of the world; if you are living in the power of the life and Spirit of Christ, and can see beyond the dark and stormy clouds which hang over our mortal years the eternal glory of the home of the saints with God, give thanks this morning for the noble and wise fidelity with which during such a time your pastor watched in behalf of your souls.

RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT.

Questions of another and very different kind disturbed and confused the mind of this church and of other churches during his prolonged pastorate, questions concerning the validity of the evangelical ideal of the Christian life, concerning modes of worship, concerning the relations of the Christian faith to literature, to art, to politics, and to the structure of society. Without claiming for him the impossible distinction of having discovered a final solution of any of these questions—if they are of a nature to admit of a final solution—it may be said that he dealt with them in the strength of a certain inborn sagacity. He was not driven and tossed by every wind and wave of popular feeling, nor did he peremptorily determine the serious practical difficulties which are involved in some of them by the authority of a rigid theory or by an unintelligent appeal to the authority of Christian experience as expressed in Christian tradition. It is impossible for me this morning to illustrate the measured judgment with which he was accustomed to treat subjects of this order, but his success in dealing with one of them was too conspicuous to be passed over. He set himself to consider very early in his ministry the true place of what for want of a better word I must call religious sentiment in the Christian life and in Christian worship, and the functions of art in exciting and expressing it. The Puritan tradition—which had its roots in a fierce resentment against the unreality of what was supposed to be religious emotion, but which was nothing more than natural sentiment created by stately buildings, by pic-

tures, by imposing services—the Puritan tradition insisted on the sternest and barest simplicity in divine worship. It regarded with a wholesome dread whatever devout emotion was not excited by the immediate vision of God and by the revelations of His awful righteousness and His infinite love. As it refused the aid of art in the awakening of religious feeling, it also refused the aid of art in its expression. But Dr. Allon saw that in its dread of unreality, Puritanism had almost suppressed one of the most gracious elements of the life of man. He believed with Luther that noble music is the natural ally of noble feeling. He began cautiously, he felt his way, he discovered by experience the defects of his earlier attempts. And the result has been, what he achieved in this congregation has added to the solemnity and joy of worship of the vast majority of Nonconformist congregations throughout England. In this work, too, he was watching in behalf of your souls, and endeavouring to make the service of God your delight.

Finally, to attempt this morning, while our great sorrow is still fresh, any complete analysis of the varied powers which enabled him to discharge with such efficiency such great duties, and through so many years, or to give an adequate account of the various elements which contributed to his energetic and impressive personality, is impossible. All I can do is to tell you briefly what kind of man he seemed to be to one who knew him and who loved him well. He had sound health and physical vigour. For many years I suppose he never knew what illness was, and he had that delight in labour, and those buoyant spirits which are among the most felicitous endowments of a man who is charged with heavy responsibilities, and whose life is spent in constant toil. At one time he appeared to me to be incapable of weariness. The fibre of his intellect was firm and strong. He was always eager, alert, and keen. He was like an ancient Greek, and cared to know things, and to know all sorts of things, for the sake of knowing them. His interest was active in all kinds of literature, and there was no narrowness in his intellectual sympathies. Excellence of every kind filled him with admiration and delight. His mind was literary, in its strongest and most characteristic tendencies, rather than speculative. He was never mastered, I think, as some of us have been mastered, by the imperial fascination of that great movement of philosophic thought which extends from Kant to Hegel. But while he craved for no vast and com-

prehensive theory which attempted to resolve into unity the antitheses from the infinite to the finite, he was always demanding of himself a responsible account of his own beliefs. Within the range of his speculation he was impatient of confusion, incoherence, and disorder. His intellectual method, to use a technical term, was rational rather than mystical. Yet, while he had his own definite beliefs, he had affinities with widely-contrasted schools of religious thought. He was strongly attracted by James Martineau, he was also strongly attracted by John Henry Newman. He was a man of strong affection and of deep emotion. There was passion in him, but, especially in his more elaborate sermons, it was largely suppressed. It was different in the discourses, which were of a more pastoral kind. In these his emotion was allowed to show itself freely. In these he moved your heart as well as instructed your intellect. In discussing great subjects on great occasions, his powerful understanding seemed to resent the disturbing power of passion. It was there; you felt its warmth; but yet it was only rarely allowed to set his thoughts on fire. It showed itself in the increased strenuousness of his purely intellectual activity. It was transmuted into intellectual energy. But when the intellectual strain was not upon him, there was not only warmth but flame. He was ardent in his love for his friends. His sympathy with them in times of trouble was as tender as a woman's. His emotion was sometimes uncontrollable. I have seen it break out in tears. He was large and generous in his thoughts of men. His admiration for those whom he honored was boundless. His delight in the successes of other men was one of the largest elements of his own happiness. But the regal element of his religious life was the tenderness and strength of his personal devotion to our Lord. I can remember times, oh, how well, when we were sitting together in his study, when our talk, moving quietly, and without excitement, from subject to subject, drew near to Christ; then I can remember the change that passed upon him, how he kindled, how sometimes his joy became radiant, how at others his voice broke with emotion while he spoke of the greatness of Christ's love, how at other times there burst forth exclamations of victorious faith in the Son of God who had become Son of man, and was the Saviour of the world. Ah, that was the ultimate secret of his power and his charm. Through all the confusions and uncertainties of his time his faith in Christ never

faltered. With growing years his devotion to Christ deepened, and in Christ's service he found increasing delight. And so it was, as a minister of Christ, loving Christ with a vehement love, that, for Christ's sake as well as yours, he watched in behalf of your souls as one that would have to give account.

Now his earthly ministry is closed. His great trust, after he had fulfilled it for nearly fifty years, has passed to another, whose heart must be oppressed this morning by the awful weight of his responsibilities; for on his fidelity depends, under God, henceforth the vigour of your religious life, the measure in which you will realise the Christian law of conduct, and the energy with which you will maintain your institutions for lessening the misery, the ignorance, and the sin of the world. You will entreat God to give him light and strength and courage; you will remember that every great life has its own laws and its own ways of serving mankind and God. The ministry which lies behind us cannot, in the forms and manifestations of its power, be repeated. Only in its spirit and its aims can it be renewed and prolonged. The new man, working in the new time, must work by new methods. Trust him. Think much of the difficulties of his task. Be generous in your appreciation of his success, let your affection and your hearty co-operation sustain him. When he is ready to faint, give him courage by the strength of your confidence in God. Maintain for him and for yourselves an unflinching faith in Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday and today and forever. In generation after generation pastors, teachers, saintly men pass away, but Christ is the eternal strength of the Church and Christ its eternal glory, Amen.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

PROFESSOR PAUL VAN DYKE'S RESIGNATION.

From *The New York Tribune*, May 5, 1892.

THE present condition of affairs in the Presbyterian Church has received another illustration in the case of the Rev. Paul Van Dyke, which came before the directors of Princeton Theological Seminary at their meeting on Monday. His retirement from the Seminary has been brought about by the demand for an avowal on his part that he

will accept the standards of the Church in the sense which has always been put upon them at Princeton, and conform his teaching to this interpretation and never depart from it. This avowal he was unwilling to make. The regular and constitutional vows of a professor, promising loyalty to the standards, he could take with heartiness, but this extra pledge of strict adherence to a traditional interpretation of them seemed to him an unnecessary and improper imposition. This steady resistance to it has resulted in the severance of his relations with the Seminary.

The whole history of the case is of peculiar interest. Mr. Van Dyke was appointed in 1889 to be "instructor in Church history for two or three years, with a view of his being made full professor at that time should the Board of Directors be satisfied with his methods and success." Under this appointment he was entrusted with sole charge of the historical department, and has continued to conduct all of its work. But in the meantime the movement for a change in the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian Church began, and Mr. Van Dyke's father, the Rev. Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke of Brooklyn, and his brother, the Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke of New York, were strong advocates of it. The question whether the doctrine of preterition was essential to the Presbyterian system became a burning question. The professors at Princeton took the affirmative ground very vigorously. But Mr. Van Dyke was entirely silent in regard to it, and confined himself strictly to the teaching of Church history. Of his methods and success in this work there can be no question. The students were enthusiastic about him as a teacher. This enthusiasm was expressed in a definite form. The members of the senior and middle classes drew up this testimonial:

We, the undersigned students of the senior class of the Princeton Theological Seminary, who have enjoyed and benefited by your instruction desire to express our recognition of your broad and thorough scholarship, and the clear, unbiased and purely historical method of your teaching; our high appreciation of your patient, unselfish and successful efforts in our behalf; and our sincere gratitude for the insight into the true historic spirit and for the stimulus which we have received from you to more earnest study.

We wish to thank you also for the personal interest which you, as an instructor and Christian minister, have uniformly shown toward each one of us.

The junior class presented a similar paper representing their unanimous sentiments as follows:

We, the members of the junior class, wish to ex-

press to you our high appreciation of the successful manner in which you have conducted the course in Bible history, notwithstanding the difficulties of the situation in which you were so unexpectedly placed.

We wish also to thank you most heartily for the freshness and interest with which you have investigated the subject, not sparing your own time or strength in your endeavors to make it both stimulating and profitable, and we earnestly hope that nothing may sever the relations which have been to us so satisfactory.

These papers were signed by more than nine-tenths of the students. They also held a meeting to draw up a memorial to the Board of Directors, and appointed two delegates asking permission to appear before the Board and express their sentiments. But at the same time that this memorial and the request of the students were presented to the directors a letter came from Mr. Van Dyke in which he frankly stated the situation in regard to the extra doctrinal avowal which he was willing to make. It was as follows:

To the Board of Directors of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Gentlemen: I beg leave to resign into your hands the department of Church History which has been under my sole charge for three years. In so doing I feel it my duty to make a frank statement of the reasons which lead me to retire from the service of Princeton.

It has been brought to my knowledge in a manner which precludes all doubt that no man can be elected to a professorship in this institution with the full approval of the present teaching force, unless he makes a distinct and unequivocal avowal that he accepts the standards of our Church in the sense which has always been put upon them by the fathers, founders and former professors of this Seminary; that he will conform his teachings and utterances thereto, and that he will introduce no new departure in this respect. Such an avowal I should not be willing to make under any circumstances or for any purpose.

1. It is unnecessary and unconstitutional. The vows imposed on professors by the Church are sufficient, and I should find no difficulty in taking them. But I could not reconcile it to my conscience to make such an additional avowal of loyalty to a party or tradition, because I believe that its exaction is not apt to promote the peace, unity or prosperity of our Church.

2. It seems to me to destroy liberty of speech and personal initiative, and to impose an obligation impossible to fulfil. I am unable to understand how the teaching of Church History can be conformed to a traditional sense put upon the Westminster Standards by certain men.

3. It is evident that it includes a promise of support to a doctrine which is at present under discussion, *i.e.*, preterition.

Now I believe the Calvinistic theology to be the best which the human mind has constructed, but I do not believe that preterition is essential to Calvinism, and I should not be willing to make it a test of orthodoxy. In regard to this point, while I have never been conscious of any want of harmony with the spirit, method or teaching of my reverend preceptor, Dr. A. A. Hodge, it may be that I am

notin perfect harmony with the present spirit and teaching of professors in this Seminary. If so, it is certainly not due to any change on my part.

For these reasons I should always decline to make any such avowal as that to which I have referred. The knowledge that it is expected from me is, in fact, the reason why I must ask you not to consider my name in connection with the future of the department of Church History.

This withdrawal leaves you free to fill the chair in accordance with the policy of the faculty, and leaves me free to serve the Church according to the dictates of my conscience. I remain, gentlemen, yours very respectfully,

PAUL VAN DYKE.

The action of the directors upon this letter in connection with the memorial of the students and their request for a hearing was highly significant. They voted not to receive the delegates of the students, and passed a resolution recording their high appreciation of the value of Mr. Van Dyke's work as a teacher and of his personal influence in the Seminary, and at the same time accepting his withdrawal from the department of Church History, while dissenting from his reasons. This seems to indicate a judgment that his grounds for declining to make the avowal which was expected are not sufficient to satisfy the directors. It makes his separation from the Seminary clearly and definitely upon that ground.

In view of all the facts, this case is certainly one of great interest. It has a prophetic aspect. It shows that at least in Princeton an effort will be made to insist upon the maintenance of the doctrine of preterition, or foreordination to everlasting death, as essential to orthodoxy. It illuminates the situation and defines the great question which now agitates the Presbyterian Church.

MOVEMENTS IN THE DENOMINATIONS.

BY PRESIDENT E. H. CAPEN, D.D., TUFTS COLLEGE.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, May 12, 1892.

THE UNIVERSALISTS.

THE Universalist Church is not unaffected by the intellectual movements of the age. The same causes that are changing the form and trend of thought in other Christian bodies are at work here, though perhaps they are somewhat less apparent for the reason that the Universalists, to start with, were somewhat farther forward on that road along which all the sects are travelling. But they are not wholly free from those rationalistic and even skeptical tendencies which fill

devout minds in all communions with alarm. The scientific method, with a certain order of mind, leads to the placing of religion on a naturalistic basis, and there are not a few men of that order of mind among Universalists. There is also a large sprinkling of men who have broken away from old ties, and once the bands of conservatism are unloosed there is a tendency with such men to take the most extreme ground in the opposite direction. The reflex influence of the German rationalistic and critical spirit, though late, has manifested itself distinctly among certain Universalist thinkers during the last decade. Under the sanction of what they call the "higher criticism" they are raising interrogation marks concerning the interpretation and records of Christianity. The historic and traditional basis of our religion is called in question.

This, however, is not an adequate description of the attitude and movement of the Church as a whole. The great body of Universalists, both clergy and laity, may be termed rationally conservative. That is, while they require a rational basis for their convictions, and will accept no conclusions which they think are against reason, they are not swift to move from established positions. They hold fast by what is called historic Christianity. The Universalist thought has been Christocentric from the beginning, and any attempt to remove the Christ from the central place or to eliminate the supernatural elements from the New Testament Scriptures is very generally treated not only as an absurdity but as an impertinence. Speaking broadly, the movement of the denomination is now, and always has been, toward the ethical theology. Its disposition has ever been to exalt the moral attributes of God. It has recognized in the character of Christ His transcendent moral quality. It has sought the interpretation of the universe through the moral nature of man. This, too, without departing in any respect from Biblical grounds. No body of Christians anywhere has held the Bible in higher respect or appealed to it with greater confidence. The Universalist theology is Biblical rather than systematic. Scholars of this school have turned their attention more to Biblical interpretation than to dogmatics or speculation.

The Universalist movement in this country is the counterpart of the movement on the other side of the ocean represented by Erskine, Maurice and Robertson. Here on our own soil Bushnell comes half-way to clasp hands with Hosea Ballou. Universalism may be regarded as a kind of Biblical

reaction. It is an attempt, at least, to return to primitive forms of religious thought. Latin Christianity is unpalatable to it. The tendency is away from St. Augustine and his disciples of every time toward what is conceived to be the more humane teaching of Clement and Origen, nay, toward that simplicity of doctrine on which the apostolic church was built. The Universalist theology is strongly Pauline. It fairly revels in those lofty generalities in which the apostle to the Gentiles pictures the spiritual nature of God and the destiny of the race.

In the use and interpretation of the Bible Universalists make reason the chief instrument. By that I do not mean the logical faculty merely, but everything that falls within the scope of human nature and experience, thought, will, affections, the whole spiritual being, everything in man that allies him with God. This is what is meant when it is declared that Christianity has a rational basis. It finds in the mind and heart a congenial soil and climate. It measures exactly and meets completely the moral necessities of the universe. Scarcely ever has it been affirmed that a revelation must be accepted because it has been made, though perhaps thirty years ago many would have felt constrained to receive it because it is miraculously attested. The present prevailing conviction is that revelation must be accepted because it is essentially and inherently reasonable, because the whole reasonable nature perceives its reasonableness. To reject Christianity, therefore, to call in question the grounds on which it rests, either because of the method by which it has come or the signs by which it is attested, is to put one's self in the posture of pure unreasonableness. The Universalist does not say, "I will believe what I do not understand." But he knows that divine truth is greater than the heart of man. While, therefore, he seeks for a rational faith, he will not forget to strive for a reason that shall be informed and exalted by faith.

The Universalist interpretation of the Scriptures is along natural lines. In a sense it treats them as literature. There was a time, perhaps, when the Bible was regarded as an arsenal of texts. To-day it is taken as a great religious text-book to be read in the light of man's moral and religious nature. The critical methods and the apparatus of scholars are not distrusted. Light from whatever quarter is eagerly welcomed. The grammarian and the archaeologist are invited to apply their tests, and the results of learned investigation are awaited with serene and lofty confidence.

The sociological and practical phases of Universalism are noteworthy. By a kind of instinct it has seemed to gravitate toward every great humanitarian movement. Its conception alike of the infinite fatherhood and the universal brotherhood has logically placed it on the side of every cause that involves the social and moral elevation of the race. The Declaration of Independence was only another statement of the Universalist view of humanity. Naturally, therefore, John Murray was the intimate friend and counsellor of leading Revolutionary heroes—Washington, Adams, Greene and Varnum. When Garrison and Phillips went through the land preaching the new gospel of anti-slavery the Universalists, while not affiliating with them politically, in spirit were almost solidly on their side. Indeed, in that earlier time when reform was the watchword, the Universalist Reform Association often furnished in anniversary week some of the most interesting and valuable discussions of the great themes that claimed the thoughtful attention of the hour. In the great army that is battling with intemperance in its various forms, the Universalist body has had its place always in the front rank. It is impossible even to think of the temperance reform without certain Universalist names rising unbidden in the mind, so prominently have they been identified with it. Nor has any church been more ready to acknowledge the new claims that have been made in behalf of woman. Its position is almost unique in having an ordained woman ministry.

There is a natural tendency toward organized effort for social amelioration. The modern view of charity finds a sympathetic response among the Universalist clergy. No class of men manifests a greater eagerness to try the new methods for lifting human beings out of the degradation and helplessness of poverty. The movement in this direction is deliberate and systematic. The theological schools are dealing with the more important questions of sociology. Courses of study are prosecuted in applied ethics and the subject of pastoral care includes the consideration of those economic questions which come up for solution in the life of every working minister. The interest in these matters is perhaps intensified by the fact that the Universalist minister is accustomed to regard this world as the "subject of redemption." He works for humanity already lost, not in danger of being lost by and by. Here is the actual state of things that demands the application of the healing and saving principles of Christian-

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ity. His interest is not merely theoretical, though it may have its root in theory. He is constantly seeking for some practical realization of the truth that inspires him. Hence the formation of various social leagues within the lines of parochial effort, the direction of the undertakings of individual churches to philanthropic ends, the creation of corporate philanthropies—for example, the Chapin Home in New York, which, better than anything else, perhaps, embodies the humane spirit of one of the greatest preachers of modern times, a truly representative Universalist minister; the Washburn Home in Minneapolis; and now the Bethany Home, an institution which is destined to fill a peculiar place among the charities of Boston.

During the greater part of its history, owing to the radical divergence of its doctrines from the received opinions of men and the social ostracism to which its adherents were subjected, the Universalist Church has been engaged in a struggle for existence. Yet it has laid its foundations and reared its superstructure with an irrefragable confidence in the future. The educational institutions it has created and endowed during the last forty years are a marvel. Of themselves they are sufficient to constitute an epoch in any denomination of Christians. But they have been called into being by the Universalists because they felt that in meeting the responsibilities of the future they could not get on without their aid. Along with these, and to some extent by means of them, the missionary spirit has been fostered. The earlier Universalist preachers were missionaries, self-appointed, proclaiming the doctrine far and wide, trusting to Him who feeds the ravens and clothes the lilies to provide for their temporal wants. In these later years there has been a renewal of this spirit, which is seen not only in the diligent and successful cultivation of home fields but in the work that is beginning to be prosecuted with so much earnestness and success in foreign lands.

For a long time, also, there has been an active effort to promote vital Christianity and develop church life. Nor is there any abatement of effort in this field. Though not holding the traditional ideas of conversion and salvation, the Universalist minister is striving earnestly for the revival of religion, pure and undefiled, in the congregation over which he is set and in the heart of the individual believer, and, while his people are less emotional than the people of many sects, more inclined to approach re-

ligion from the side of reason, few churches can offer better evidences of genuine growth in the religious life. The pulpit recognizes the church as the central force in the organic work which Christianity is called upon to perform. The supreme end to which preaching points is life. It must seek the perfection of individual character, the development of the noblest type of moral and spiritual manhood. The salvation of souls is the real purpose of the pulpit, but the salvation it would secure is not rescued from impending doom but the lifting of men into the life of God as manifested in Jesus Christ. The evil of the world is the enemy of the soul, therefore it must be assailed and, if possible, overcome and destroyed. Repentance and faith are the essential conditions on which men move out into the larger field of positive achievement and world-embracing love. In this spirit the Universalist pulpit is discharging its high duties and working out its noble destiny.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RUSSIAN JEW.

BY ARNOLD WHITE.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), May, 1892.

THE Governor of —, one of the ablest administrators in the Russian service, recently reported to his superiors in St. Petersburg, that "the greatest event in social life here—i.e., at —, is the tendency which is showing itself more and more among the Israelite population to quit the country." General — goes on to say that this passion for flitting lately developed among the Jews in his province deserves the attention of the Government, and, so far from being checked, must be stimulated if need be, by the employment of certain Jewish funds, provided, it is true, for other purposes, but which are under the control of the Government. This desire to emigrate, referred to by the Governor of —, is planted in the minds of the Hebrew population of Russia by the system of repression, suspicion, and dislike, under which they live; and it cannot fail to create in their new homes serious and far-reaching consequences, in whatever country those homes may be found.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes did not cause more general movement or lead to more rapid changes in England than the May laws and the consequent passing away of the Jewish population of Russia.

will bring about in other lands. What may be the effect of these changes must depend on the moral, intellectual, and physical characteristics of the emigrants. If the Jew be essentially a parasite—one who lives by exploiting the vices of others, to whom existence is impossible when away from the higgling of the market, the rustling of bank notes and the chinking of coin, then he is not only a bad citizen for Russia, but he is equally ineligible for settlement in North or South America, or in any other portion of this planet to which he may hope to wend his way. There is no escape from this position. If the indictment brought against the Russian Jew by Madame Novikoff and her school can be seriously and effectively maintained, then the quicker Russian tribulations make an end of Israel the better for the rest of the inhabitants of the civilised world. Nor should Russia act alone in this matter. If there be a serious danger of Europe and the United States being devoured by a locust-swarm of vicious and mercenary Israelites, it is high time for all nations to awake out of sleep, to be up and doing, to smite hip and thigh at the scattered tribes, and to join Holy Russia in her romantic and religious endeavours to combine the preservation of her nationality with revenge for the Crucifixion of our Lord, and thus display to the Jews the practical teachings of our common Christianity.

What are the facts of the case? Almost without exception, the Press throughout Europe is in Jewish hands, and is largely produced from Jewish brains. International finance is captive to Jewish energy and skill. In England, the fall of the Baring has left the lonely supremacy of the house of Rothschild, not wholly to its advantage, unchallenged and unassailable. In other walks of life, wherever material comfort and personal safety can be attained by nimble brain, deft finger, or quick imagination, the Jew is found to take the highest place. Medicine, law, surgery, politics, journalism, music and art, are being more and more captained by men of the Jewish race; and it is certain that the process is not on the wane. Prizefighting and war have been largely left to the Gentiles, although Mendoza and Bendorff are names of celebrated Jewish pugilists that will occur to all. Three Russian Generals have described to me the dauntless courage of Hebrew soldiers at the Schipka Pass. In one instance a call for twenty-five men to engage in a forlorn hope was answered by thirteen Jewish soldiers. Is this intellectual pre-eminence of the Jews to be regretted? The

answer depends on the circumstances and environment of the questioner. The stupid and self-indulgent, easily passed in the race of life by clever men, naturally join the ranks of anti-Semites. But there is another class of Jew-haters who cannot be so easily dismissed. Men like M. Pobiedonostzeff, who hold that it is better to lose a limb or an eye than enter whole into hell fire, cannot be justly accused of personal motives. To such men as the Procureur of the Holy Synod, the evils of these later days are inseparable from the growing worship of material comfort. M. Pobiedonostzeff is a rock against which the waves of materialism beat in vain. Vanished may be the national faith of England, of France, of Italy, but, safe-guarded by the Czar and his orthodox servants, the faith of Russia shall suffer no preventable danger from the cult of the Golden Calf. Russia is honest in this matter and is under no illusions. She does not pretend to love the Jew, who is believed to be the most ardent worshipper of the Golden Calf, or to chasten him for his soul's good, as the Holy Inquisition smote and racked the faithless children of the Church in the days of yore. But she considers his faith an insult to her Church, his presence a menace to her unity, and his scheme of life an outrage to her national pride.

The main object pursued by the governing classes in repressing the Jew in Russia is sheer self-defence. Russians hold that the bright Jewish intellect, if allowed free play, would contaminate the whole Empire within a short space of time. It has been calculated that if the repressive laws of Russia were repealed, and the Jews allowed access to any and every post in the service of the Empire, eight years would not pass before every post worth having outside the army and navy would be filled by an official of the Hebrew faith. I believe the statement to be little if at all exaggerated.

It behooves those who write about Russia to take care that what they write is true. Russia is magnanimous. She contradicts nothing. She subsidises no reptile Press, and if she be defended at all it is by agents who can be disavowed. Silent under such attacks as those of Mr. Kennan and the writer who uses the name of Lanin, Russia appeals from the present to the future to justify her in the policy she adopts. Confident of vindication by posterity, Russia magnanimously ignores those who regard her conduct to the Jewish race as a cruel revival of Middle Age barbarities, in harmony with her simple Constitution and her lagging Calendar. If taxed with the assas-

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sination of the spirit of a whole race, she is conscious of being animated by the holiest of motives, and believes herself justified by the logic of facts. But she is silent. It is not an attack on Jews as such by which the May laws were justified, but on materialism itself. A race notoriously sober and naturally spiritual-minded, as the Russians are, needs to be preserved in the integrity of their faith and in the purity of their high calling. To shrink from necessary measures of restriction would be, they argue, sheer desertion of principle and of duty, and a display of base opportunism worthy only of the worshippers of the Golden Calf.

If M. Pobiedonostzeff bravely defends the Eastern Church against Jewish materialism on grounds of religion, it is impossible to deny that he is supported on other grounds by the main body of "tehinovniks" throughout the Empire. "*Les ennemis de Christ*" do not present to the average Russian official, perhaps, the embodiment of materialistic and of anti-spiritual forces in the sense in which they are so regarded by the Holy Synod. But every official feels that if the barrier now placed against Jewish freedom to pursue any career in the Empire were removed, his place would shortly be in danger. *Bon enfant* himself, he dreads the intellectual struggle with the Jew on equal terms. Intellectually the average Jew towers above the average Russian, as physically the Russian often towers above the Jew. Intellectual jealousy and fear of supersession supply the effective forces to anti-Semitic prejudice in Russia. In point of fact relig-

ious antipathy has but little part in the measures directed against Russians of the Hebrew faith. As in Egypt, the children of Israel are fruitful and wax "exceeding mighty," and the Emperor fears, as Pharaoh feared, that the land will be full of them; and as the Egyptian "tehinovnik" afflicted their Jewish ancestors with burdens, so not only do the Russian taskmasters strictly follow their Egyptian predecessors, but Israel multiplies and grows in the midst of calamity as did their forefathers on the banks of the Nile. Now as then, their service is with rigour, and as the treasure-cities Pithom and Raamses were built by them for Pharaoh, so the edifice of Russian commerce in Moscow and Kieff is mainly due to Jewish effort and to Jewish skill.

Although the statistics I am about to give of the actual position of the Jewish people in Russia are taken from official sources, they have never, so far as I know, been available to the English or the Russian public. I am indebted to the researches of MM. Oulenikoff and Soubotin for the opportunity of setting forth in a concise form the existing economic and vital effects of the Jews in Russia on the general population of the Empire.

The following table, compiled not from Jewish but from official sources, shows the relative condition of the population in the fifteen provinces constituting the Pale of Settlement, the twelve provinces adjacent to the Pale, the twenty-three remaining provinces, and the whole of Russia, respectively:

	Fifteen Jewish- Provinces. The Pale.	Twelve Adjacent Provinces.	Twenty-three other Provinces.	All Russia.
The annual mortality per 1000 inhabitants for the period 1867-85.....	36.6	40.3	41.1	No returns
Annual increase of population 1867-83.....	1.72 per cent.	1.47 per cent.	No returns	1.28 per cent.
Arrears of land tax from peasant proprietors in 1882—the last year of official returns.....	11.7 per cent.	26.6 per cent.	44.3 per cent.	27 per cent.
Number of cattle per 1000 dessiatines* of arable land 1883 (no later returns published).....	639	480	541	539
Increase of horses in 14 years 1874-88.....	116 per cent.	11 per cent.	6 per cent.	27 per cent.
Ditto cattle ditto.....	26 per cent.	11 per cent.	17 per cent.	19 per cent.
Capital owned by village communities per 1000 peasants, 1887.....	681 roubles	403 roubles	No returns	521 roubles
Consumption of alcohol per 100 inhabitants, 1888.....	30.6 vedro†	27.7 vedro	27.2 vedro	28.0 vedro
Deaths from drunkenness in 1887 per 1,000,000 inhabitants.....	12.0	61.0	77.0	50.0
Houses of ill-fame per 100,000 of town population.....	57.0	109.0	80.0	77.0
Incendiary fires (per 1000 fires) for 1883-87..	7.0	15.0	11.0	11.0
Commercial licenses per 1000 inhabitants, 1887.....	9.5	10.2	17.3	—

* The dessiatine=2.69072 English acres.

† The vedro=2.707 Imperial gallons.

SPACE.

Jews may inhabit	912,000 square versts, or 19 per cent.
Jews are forbidden to trespass on	3,858,000 " 81 "
not including Siberia, the Caucasus, and Asia Minor.	
The number of agricultural Jews is 64,000.	

COMMERCE.

In the Jewish Pale, or the 15 Provinces.

The number of Jewish merchants was in 1886	11,468, or 55 per cent.
The capital employed by Jewish merchants was in 1886	437,000,000 roubles, or 47.1 per cent.
Average turnover per Jewish merchant	38,000 roubles.
Average turnover per Gentile merchant	53,600 roubles.
No. of Jewish traders per 10,000 Jews	34.1.
No. of Gentile traders per 10,000 Gentiles (excluding peasants)	18.8.
Jewish retail traders in 1884	60,729, or 67 per cent.
In the hands of the Jews in 1886—	
Brandy distilleries	2.5 per 1000, or 55 per cent.
" stores	1.8 " " 89 "
" retail establishments	37.7
Number of Jew manufactories in 1886	1460, or 31 per cent.
Value of their manufactures in 1886	47,300,000 roubles, or 16 per cent.
Average value of products per Jew manufactories	32,000 roubles.
Annual value of products per Gentile manufactories	78,000 roubles.
Number of Jew artisans, 1886	293,000.
Land Leased by Jews, 1885	1,993,000 dessiatines, or 4.14 per cent.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

In all Russia, the average number of Jews and non-Jews convicted of crime for the period 1875-85, per annum, was as follows:

Jews (per 100,000 Jews)	259
Non-Jews (per 100,000 non-Jews)	426
The proportion of Jews convicted of political crime was, for the years 1881-85	13 per cent. of the whole,
and for 1886-87	14 per cent. of the whole.

Those who will take the trouble to study the foregoing statistics will discover that the popular notion of the evil effects of Jewish influence in Russia is nearly destitute of foundation. It must be borne in mind that the figures given are in each case taken from official sources, and it is justifiably surmised that the reason why Government has ceased publishing statistics is because the evidence is so manifestly in favour of the Jews, that the course now adopted of making their lives bitter with hard bondage acquires no warrant from the statistical facts.

The principal charge against the Russian Jew consists in the allegation that he thrives only by exploiting the vices of others. In regard to the consumption of alcohol it will be seen, that while the inhabitants of the Pale consume a small quantity more brandy than the dwellers in the provinces outside the Pale, the deaths caused by drink are at the rate of but one quarter of those for the whole of Russia, and this notwithstanding the fact that more than half the distilleries are in Jewish

hands. The comparative virtue of the Pale is shown by the comparison of *maisons tolérées* within and without the Ghetto of Russia. It is true that the fifteen provinces cannot boast the white flower of a blameless life, but they have no reason to shrink from comparison with the Orthodox regions of the Holy Empire.

Incendiarism is constantly charged against the Jews as a characteristic and habitual crime. I have been told by high officials, not once but a dozen times, that fraudulent insurance obtained by arson is enormously prevalent among the Jewish population, and that, as contrasted with the general body of the people, the former hold the field in this form of crime. Here again the official figures acquit the Jews of this charge, and raise them on a moral pedestal above their fellow subjects.

The arrears of land tax were conspicuously less in the Pale at the date of the last returns, from which the impression may be drawn that Russia would largely benefit by allowing the Jews to reside wherever they like without restriction of any kind. It is,

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I believe, no secret that the Minister of Finance, M. Wyshnygradsky, holds this opinion; but in Russia, when Orthodoxy and Adam Smith are opposed, it is orthodoxy

and not economic truth that gains the day. Some detailed considerations of the loss to Russia involved in a complete exodus of Jewish subjects will not be out of place.

	Roubles.
In the first and second Guild of Merchants there are 15,000 Jews who pay annually for permission to trade.....	1,600,000
For licences.....	1,500,000
" certificates.....	500,000
" taxes on various enterprises.....	200,000
" 3 per cent. duty of dividends of Companies.....	250,000
Within the Pale drink pays taxes to the amount of.....	80,000,000
" tobacco.....	10,000,000
" sugar.....	10,000,000
Of which aggregate amount half falls on the Jews.....	50,000,000

In the twenty-eight Governments, fifteen in Russia, ten in Poland, and the three Baltic Provinces, the Jews occupy 400,000 houses, and pay as ground rents from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 roubles. Jews pay 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on coupons and securities. The merchandise imported by them from abroad pays millions of roubles of Crown taxes, and the rent paid by them for land still leased from Government is from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 roubles. The meat tax comes to 2,000,000 roubles, and Jewish passports and other indirect contributions to the revenue amount to a large sum.

Jews contribute to the military service 15,000 of their young men, and the contingent required from them is largely in excess of the proportion drawn from the rest of the population.

From these figures it is clear that the departure of the Jews from Russia would cause a direct and immediate annual loss to the revenue of over 100,000,000 roubles. In addition to this, a long series of economic disturbances must be taken into account.

1. The difficulties that would be introduced into Russian trade with foreign nations. Already the evictions in Moscow have created a state of affairs only to be described as disastrous. Many commercial firms are tottering to a fall, and others have suffered mutilation from the wholesale expulsion of the middleman. I am told on high authority that one reason for the refusal of Government aid to the banking house of Günzburg, which recently failed, was because a precedent would be created which would make it impossible to refuse aid to Moscow houses known to be in a shaky condition in consequence of the departure of the Jews from that city.

2. The inevitable shrinkage of banking and exchange transactions.

3. The introduction of obstacles to the

ready disposal of corn and other agricultural products, especially in the twenty-eight provinces, which must follow the disappearance of buyers and middlemen, who industriously buy in small quantities all over the Empire, and, by mutual competition, raise prices.

4. The fall in the value of all Russian products, arising from the contraction and stagnation of the markets.

5. Fall in the value of all real estate, and in the national funds.

6. Diminished income of all agricultural proprietors.

7. The diminished income of the peasant population, and the consequent increase in the arrears of Imperial taxes.

8. The development of commercial monopolies in manufactured goods, arising from the extinction of competition, and consequent suffering to the artisan and labouring classes. The tyranny of competition may be bad, but the tyranny of monopoly is worse.

9. The closing of new markets for Russian goods.

10. The shrinkage of municipal, provincial, and rural revenues.

11. The shrinkage of railway and steamship returns.

On a moderate estimate of these considerations, it is not too much to say that the money loss to Russia, direct and indirect, of a general exodus of Jews would not be less than 2,000,000,000 roubles, and it is difficult to understand how she could in that event continue to rank among the solvent States of the world.

The number of the Jews in Russia according to the best authorities, is about 5,250,000. The grand total of the population today is estimated at 114,873,008. According to the evidence furnished to the Pahlen Commission, which was kept secret, but to some of which I had access, the proportion

of the Jews in the fifteen provinces constituting the Pale, and in the town of Odessa,

amounted to 12.5 per cent. of the population.

In the interior 35 provinces the Jewish population before the expulsions of 1890-91 was	0.12 per cent.
In the Polish provinces	13.8 "
In the Caucasus	0.12 "
In the Caspian provinces	0.55 "
In Siberia	0.35 "
In Asia Minor	0.10 "

averaging over the whole Empire less than 5 per cent. of the total population.

Seeing that the Russian Empire comprises one-seventh of the land surface of the globe, and covers with internal waters, an area of 8,644,100 English square miles, it seems an extravagant compliment to the Jewish race, notwithstanding their admitted abilities, to deal with them as if they were sufficiently powerful and sufficiently dangerous to the vast dominions of the Czar, to require herding in the pinfold of the fifteen provinces. Nor can it be justly alleged that the Jewish population is largely increasing. Death and emigration keep down their numbers. The opinion of M. Soubotin on this subject is expressed in the following words: "Il est bien probable que la population juive dans les dernières dix années n'est inconsiderablement accrue en comparaison avec l'année 1881." Indeed, regarded from the standpoint of population, as well as from economic and moral considerations, it is difficult for an Englishman to comprehend wherein lies the danger of allowing one Jew to dwell among eight hundred of the Christian population, or in what way the empire is strengthened by driving out innocent men, women and children during the snows of January.

The cry against the Jews that they are not agriculturists is exactly like preferring an accusation against a man for not being able to swim, when, at the same time, he is not allowed to approach water. Under Russian law, a Jew may not farm, or become a miller, or a fisherman; he may not buy, sell, lease or rent land. He may not be a gardener on his own land. Driven by centuries of coercion to dwell in towns, and restricted to a few commercial occupations, the traditions of the time when Israel was an agricultural theocracy have almost faded away. Severed from the soil and estranged from the plough, the majority of the race has become incapable of bearing the physical strain that falls to the lot of the agriculturist. Christian animosity has organised Jewish deterioration. No conditions of life so sweeten and purify the human race as sunshine and hard work in the open air. The truth of this proposition is demon-

strated in the complete physical change to be remarked in the second and third generations of the handful of Jews who were planted by Alexander I. in the colonies of Cherson in the year 1806. Prince Demidoff San-Donato says truly that "the position of the first Jewish settlers, who belonged chiefly to the most destitute members of the Jewish communities, was most deplorable." They were physically weak, exhausted by privation and travel, and ignorant of agriculture; and the mortality among them was so great that the Governor of Cherson reported in 1810, that "no more Jews must be sent to the province." The experiments dropped in 1810 were resumed in 1834, and again in 1846 by the Emperor Nicholas.

I have conversed with these colonists. Their old men told me of the hardships they had to encounter. The administration was composed of retired military men who, for the most part, were more occupied with their own interests than with the development of the prosperity of the colonies. The houses such as they were, being built of green bricks, collapsed in the first rains, and they were erected so far from water that many of them were never occupied. The agricultural implements were worthless. The discipline imposed on these luckless farmers was of the utmost severity. The idle were flogged or imprisoned, and many were sent to Siberia for lack of enthusiasm in their work. Irksome administrative rules checked the development of the colonies, and, while it increased the distaste of those already engaged in cultivating the soil, deterred others from pursuing a similar career. In the archives of the Besarabian Board of Administration, kept at Cherson, it is stated in an official document, that the hovels prepared for the poor Jews from Mariapol and Berdicheff were built of frozen materials during severe frost, by half frozen workmen. Before they were occupied, many of them fell to pieces, and instead of habitations, the Jews found only ruins. With the irony prevalent in these regions, the Provincial Board accused the immigrants of not keeping their tenements in good repair! Cold, damp, and lack o

proper food brought on scurvy, and many died a miserable death. Medical attendance they had none, and a more direful lot than fell to these Jewish settlers was not borne even by the 1820 settlers sent by Lord Liverpool to the Cape Colony.

However, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, many families held on, and became stalwart and successful farmers, and to-day, a population of 21,000 agriculturists inhabit the Cherson colonies, whose pluck and patience are a credit to themselves and to their country. The natural increase in the population has, however, brought new troubles. Land that is capable of supporting five people is not enough for fifty. To-day, not only is the pastoral and agricultural land in the Cherson colonies exhausted from constant cropping, but the quantity is totally insufficient to maintain the population settled upon it. When I visited these colonies, commissioned by Baron de Hirsch to inquire and report upon the condition of the Russian Jews, I was greeted as if succour had been brought to men at hand-grips with death. Quiet, dignified and hungry, the whole population impressed me with the greatest respect. Not once was I asked for a copeck; nor did I hear an angry word against the Government of the country. It need not be said that no trouble from drink existed in the colonies; not only was temperance the invariable rule, but the Russian villages adjacent learned moderation and sobriety from example and contact.

The dignity and care of woman is maintained among the Jews in a manner surprising to those acquainted with the usual conditions of female peasant life in Europe. Except among the very poor, no married woman or young girl is allowed to work in the fields. This seclusion of their women is charged against the agriculturists as a crime. The practice of restricting female labour to domestic offices has much to be said for it. Beauty and intelligence are so common among the children, that it is difficult to resist the conviction that the comparative care with which the mothers of Israel are lovingly surrounded by their menfolk at critical periods of their lives has a wholesome effect on their offspring. Gentleness to women and children is a conspicuous feature in the lives of this Hebrew yeomanry. In the evening, when a young English labourer would be enjoying himself away from his wife, the Hebrew Hodge dandles his babies, and helps his wife in the family work, and in so doing finds the highest happiness of which his nature is capable.

Usury, to which the Jews pent up in

over-populated towns, must have recourse or die, is not practised here. The few instances of money-lending I encountered were, curiously enough, cases where Russians were the lenders and Jews the borrowers. The pursuit of agriculture seems to eradicate the abnormally developed commercial instinct so often characteristic of Abraham's seed: at all events when his seed have been settled on the soil for a series of years.

There can be no stronger testimony to the high character of these Jewish peasants than the existence of a land system under which the contract for the lease is constituted by word of mouth. Since the May laws of 1882, no Jew may become a farmer. Land-hunger in the Jewish breast appears to be consistent with honesty, for numerous instances came to my knowledge of a tenure subsisting on a parole contract. One Russian proprietor told me that he had let land on these terms for years, and had never been cheated of rent. We hear much of Jewish dishonesty, and it is only fair to record the evidence telling what the real nature of the people becomes when humanised by contact with the soil.

An excellent plan of mutual insurance exists among these people. The policies are limited to 400 roubles. Arson is unknown, as it would go hard with an offender who impoverished the whole community. Such capacity for combination and self-help renders the Jewish race excellent raw material for colonisation. It is true that the surface impurities must be removed—as I have often said before, by the two great purifiers for mind and body, sunshine and sweat—but with patience and opportunity there is no reason why a great Jewish State should not be rebuilt. Religion, race, language, and literature, the Jews possess. Land only is wanting, and that is in a fair way to be supplied by the matchless generosity of one man.

The principal note in the gamut of impressions left on my mind by close contact with the agricultural Jews was the aristocratic quality of mind common to the whole people. Their sense of honour would have satisfied Burke. They are gentle to women and tender to children. They feel a stain like a wound, and the proof is that a Russian accepts their word for weighty contracts in place of a bond. But in addition to all these things, there is that indefinable air of distinction about the lowest and commonest of these Jews which impresses the conviction on one's mind that their unpopularity is due perhaps, if one may be frank, to their native superiority over the settled nations

of the earth. Trouble and pain have refined the Jews in Russia. Prosperity vulgarises, whether in Brixton or Berdicheff. The Jewish race are in agony, and their agony is slow. Their patience is eternal, but the body fades and dies while the mind remains unconquered. Perhaps the most cruel deeds perpetrated on the Jews are the accomplishment of their degradation, the destruction of their spirit. No one wishes less than I, or would do more to prevent, the introduction of large numbers of poor Jews into Great Britain, but the spiritual assassination that has been practised on them in past times by the nations of Europe, and even until recently by England, but more especially of late by Russia, justifies the organised resentment of all who have hearts to feel or minds to think.

A few months since I visited a certain Jewish hospital in a small town near the Russian frontier. The meat tax collected from the Jews had been confiscated by the Christians. Medicine and nursing were impossible, there was no money. Cleanliness was unattainable, there was but one attendant. Men and women, eighteen of them, lay suffering and dying together. Cases of cancer, puerperal fever, Bright's disease, meningitis, fracture, amputation, tumour, and fever, lay huddled on dirty cubicles, irrespective of age or sex. One plucky Jewish doctor showed me the scene with shame. He did what he could. It was evening, and the western sun sloped his rays through the one window. An old man, with his face lit by the sunset, lay a-dying. He had wanted food, and now the gasp of death was in his throat. Alone he had lived, and alone he came to die. By his side lay an open book of psalms, with an ancient pair of spectacles marking the place where he had last read. Other hands than his would move the mark. The book was open where it is written: "For He remembered His holy promise and Abraham His servant. And He brought forth His people with joy and His chosen with gladness." Squalid and foul as were his surroundings the face of the old man, whose name I never knew, showed a peace within that the troubles of the world had not taken away.

It may be that when men are judged for the deeds they have done in the flesh, the Russian Emperor will learn for the first time the evils he has suffered to be done in his name.

NOTE.

The following are recent testimonials of responsible Russian proprietors and others to the agricultural capacity of the Russian Jews:

- (1) Living continuously for twenty-three years

on my property near the village of Sergnewka, in the district of Cherson, at a distance of three versts from the Jewish colony of Romanowka, I can with truth certify that the Jews of that colony occupy themselves personally with the cultivation of the ground and the rearing of cattle.

They also engage themselves for harvest work to the farmers round. In a word, they occupy themselves in the same way as do the farmers who hire them.—(Signed) Propriétaire, gentleman, CHRISTOPHE ALEKSANDROWICH PETROWSKI; Propriétaire GOUSTAW HENRICHOWIEZ FALTZ.

(2) Living on my estate in the district of Cherson for twenty-five years, close to the Jewish colony of Novopolitawka, I can testify that for all this time I have been content with their conduct as neighbours, and that there has never been a quarrel or misunderstanding between us. I can also testify that the majority of the inhabitants of this colony occupy themselves personally with agriculture, and have procured for late years the best machines for agricultural purposes, for which they have also plenty of horses and cattle.—(Signed) Propriétaire honorary hereditary citizen, PETRE PETROWIEZ ZURITZIN.

(3) 1892, February 18.—I certify that my neighbours, the Jewish colonists of Novopolitawka, grow successfully different kinds of corn, as well as carry on all the usual occupations of an agricultural life, as for example, gardening, rearing of cattle, horses, &c.—(Signed) Propriétaire in the district of Cherson, NICOLAS PAWLOFF LOUGOWSKI.

THE FARIBAULT CASE.

From *The Christian Union* (Udenom.), New York, May 21, 1892.

THE Christian Union gave last fall an account of the action at Faribault, Minnesota, by which large Catholic schools of the Immaculate Conception parish were transferred to the local Board of Education, without conditions or reservations, and the buildings were thrown open for children of all creeds, under the direction of the public school authorities. The Catholic Church retained its ownership of the school buildings, renting them to the public authorities for a merely nominal rent. The text-books of the public school system were adopted, and the teachers were required to possess the qualifications and submit to the examinations required of all other teachers under the public school system. No objection was interposed by the Roman Catholic authorities to the reading of a brief portion of Scripture and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer. All religious emblems characteristic of the Catholic faith were removed from the rooms, but the Roman Catholic teachers, who belonged to the Dominican order, continued to wear the robes of that order. This arrangement was severely criticised at the time by some Protestants on the one hand, and by some Roman Catholics on the other. It has now received the approval

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of the Vatican. The following is the full text of this important decision :

ROME, April 30, 1892.

To the Most Rev. John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn. :

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir—It has pleased your Grace to submit to the judgment of the Holy See the arrangement you deemed well to make for elementary schools at Faribault and Stillwater, Minn., in your diocese, in order to provide in the best manner possible for the spiritual welfare of the children confided to your pastoral care.

This wise resolution of your Grace seemed all the more prudent because the aforesaid arrangement, even though it regarded only separate and exceptional cases, still appeared to many of the bishops, to the members of the lower clergy and laity, as hardly worthy of approval, perhaps because they were not as well acquainted with the circumstances and conditions of the transaction as they ought to have been in order to have been able to pronounce thereon a fair opinion.

For that reason, his Holiness confided the examination of this important question to a committee of cardinals chosen from the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. In a meeting held on the 21st inst., after weighing carefully the grave reasons, adduced by your Grace with so much clearness, which induced you to enter into the arrangement mentioned above, and considering the declarations worthy of all praise, which show that, in the matter of education, your Grace has always wished to maintain inviolate the principles set forth by the Holy See and commended to the observance of the bishops by the Councils of Baltimore, particularly the third Council, their Eminences gave their decision on the question submitted to them, as it is found in the accompanying document, and his Holiness has ratified and approved the same.

I hope your Grace will be gratified by this decision of the Holy See ; because, though unusual provisions made by the different bishops in their respective dioceses according to the requirement of circumstances cannot be approved directly by the Holy See when they imply a departure, to a certain extent, from a general law, nevertheless, when the Holy See declares that such provisions may be tolerated, it thereby puts an end to all indiscreet attacks upon them.

Furthermore, by order of his Holiness, and with great pleasure to myself, I must not fail to inform your Grace that your expressions of respect, filial obedience, and unalterable adherence to the Holy See and its teachings, of which you have given splendid proofs, have been most acceptable to the Sovereign Pontiff and myself, and have strengthened the full confidence of the Holy See in your wisdom and piety.

Finally, I pray that God may preserve your Grace and protect you always.

Your Grace's most devoted servant,

M. CARDINAL LEDOCHOWSKI, Prefect.

IGNATIUS, Archbishop of Damietta, Secretary.

In special congregation of the Propaganda, held on April 21, 1892, to consider the question what judgment is to be formed of the arrangement entered into by Archbishop Ireland concerning the two schools at Faribault and Stillwater, Minn., in this case, they decided to reply affirmatively, and, without derogating from the decrees of the Councils of Baltimore on parochial schools, that the arrangement entered into by Archbishop Ireland concerning the schools at Faribault and Stillwater, taking into consideration all the circumstances, can

be tolerated. In an audience, held on the same day, his Holiness deigned to approve the resolution of the cardinals given above.

IGNATIUS, Archbishop of Damietta, Secretary.

We only need add in further explanation the following statement of Archbishop Ireland : " The plan is, of course, a departure from the ideal, and in case of departure the canonical language is *tolerari potest*. But these words imply for practice a full approval."

PROFESSOR BRIGGS'S LATEST BOOK.

BY REV. TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, D.D.

From *The New York Observer* (Undenomin.), May 5, 1892.

THE full title of this recent volume is given below.* If any of the Professor's readers entertain the notion that he has seen fit to modify or qualify the doctrines of his Inaugural Address, a glance at these pages will undeceive them. We read (p. 62) : " God himself speaks with divine authority to men, and gives them certainty of that authority, sometimes through the forms of the Reason, sometimes through the Church, sometimes through Holy Scripture ; and then again in any two of them, or in all three of them." So, then, each is independent and sufficient. But on the next page it is said : " We do not in the statement either co-ordinate these fountains or subordinate them, or in any way define the relation between them. . . . It is conceivable that the three fountains might be regarded as co-ordinate. If any one holds such an opinion, we do not." If any one can understand these utterances, we do not. The fountains accomplish the same result respectively for the purposes for which they exist, yet they are neither co-ordinate nor subordinate. This style of writing is much more ingenious than ingenuous, and must needs awaken suspicion in the reader's mind. The Professor's disclaimer is to be accepted, but it must also be considered together with his other utterances in the same connection. There is a curious mystification in his treatment which it is very hard to explain. He seems to say and unsay in the same breath, which is surely not the way in which a teacher of theology should express himself.

Dr. Briggs attacks the current method of settling the Canon as an attempt " to prop the divine authority of the Scriptures by arguments drawn from traditional sources"

* The Bible, the Church, and the Reason : The Three Great Fountains of Divine Authority. By Charles A. Briggs, D. D. New York : C. Scribner's Sons.

(p. 5), which is a gross misrepresentation, as is also the assertion that the holders of this view "rest their faith upon the judgment of a majority of Christians in the second century no wiser or better than ourselves" (p. 6). We accept the testimony of the churches of the second century as witnesses of what books were regarded by them as inspired and of apostolic origin. Nor is this "a perilous position." The whole Protestant Church is thus certified that what it receives as Scripture is Scripture, and their assurance is confirmed by every new investigation of the sources. Whereas Dr. Briggs's method makes as many Bibles as there are Christians, for each man is to believe only so far as the Holy Spirit bears witness to him; and besides, this method denies to the unregenerate any Bible, for no man can know what Scripture is till he is converted. And hence all accredited writers* on the Canon without exception reject Dr. Briggs's view, and adopt the method of historical investigation, which contrary to his opinion yields them positive certainty.

But while the Church is a witness to the truth, she is not a fountain of divine authority, and never was. Scripture gives no warrant for any such claim, nor does experience, for all Churches at one time or another have erred in faith and practice, whereas divine authority must be infallible.

Still less is Reason such a fountain. Her only province is to test the truth of what claims to be a revelation on historical or moral grounds, and when that is done, her office is exhausted. She has no further authority, except in so far as she draws it from the inspired Word. And nothing can be more puerile than Dr. Briggs's argument that because intelligence must be employed in the believer's exercises (pp. 54, 55), therefore Reason is a fountain of divine authority. It requires an effort to believe that the author did not himself see the flimsy nature of such a mode of reasoning.

He insists (p. 88) "that no man can attain the heights of religious development until he has used the three fountains in harmony." Now there is a sense in which this is true, viz.: that a believer must use his reason and have the aid of the Church as means under the divine Spirit, in order to reach his best estate, but if this is Dr. Briggs's meaning, why could he not say so? Why must he use language which is capable of another interpretation, and one which is very offensive to the generation of the righteous?

* Specimens of the list are Stillingleet, Hooker, Baxter, Hill, Cunningham, Chalmers, Dick, Van Oosterzee, Harold Brown, Pond, both the Hodges, H. B. Smith, A. H. Strong and A. Hovey.

The author assigns to Scripture a unique place in the literature of the world, yet affirms (p. 72) that there are in it errors "in science, in geography and in history;" that "there are crude conceptions and gross immoralities in the lower stages of divine revelation in the Old Testament;" and that "the writers were, in a measure, influenced by the religious ideas of the religions with which they were brought in contact." Again (p. 108): "The psychology may be crude, the methods of reasoning sometimes inexact, the rhetoric occasionally extravagant, the language of some of the writers rude, their conceptions provincial, their knowledge of the earth defective." And he goes into an argument to show that inerrancy is not claimed by Scripture, is not an orthodox doctrine, and is a dangerous doctrine. To all of which the sufficient reply is: The sacred writings are said by the Apostles to have been inspired, and if they were, they must have been without mixture of error. We do not pretend to say what the process of inspiration was, but we are sure of the result, not only by a rational inference from the divine-human authorship, but from the way in which the Old Testament (thoughts and words) is quoted and used in the New. If then any errors are proved to exist, we account for them by the accidents of transmission, and we do this not to save a theology, but to maintain what we gather is the view of Scripture itself. And we reverently say: "Let God be found true, but every man a liar." And we object to the doctrine so boldly avowed of the errancy of Scripture not only because of the dishonor it does to God the Holy Ghost, but also because of its injury to men. It is all very well to say that the errors are only "motes in the sunbeam," but when we are told that an apostle reasons badly, or an inspired man writes extravagantly, or his knowledge is defective, we draw back in dismay. Here is a door opened for endless objections to the truth of God. Men's confidence in the divine Word is rudely shaken if not destroyed, and an utterance from the Bible ceases to be the end of controversy. How much better than the careless expressions of Dr. Briggs are the words of Augustine when he said to Jerome (Ep. 19): "If I meet with anything in the books of Scripture which seems contrary to the truth, I do not doubt that either the manuscript is corrupt, or that the interpreter has not reached the true sense, or that I myself by no means understand it." Might not the modesty of the great Latin father be commended for imitation to some of the teachers of our day?

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In the part of the volume devoted to the Higher Criticism, the writer constantly speaks of his opponents, called "traditionalists," as if they objected to the searching investigation of the Bible. This is a very great error, and one which the Professor ought not to have made. We by no means object to the most careful and thorough scrutiny to which the Bible can be subjected. Our faith in it is so assured and strong that we have no fear of the result in any case. But we do object positively to the methods employed by the modern school, maintaining that they are eminently deceptive. This has been shown by crucial instances. To parcel a book of Scripture among several writers on the basis of differences in vocabulary, style and contents, and then whenever an inconvenient word or clause occurs which contradicts the theory to attribute that to a redactor, is, we think, an arbitrary and irrational proceeding. Dr. Briggs assumes four authors of the Pentateuch, and compares them with the four evangelists, and insists that the Old Testament quartette answers the same purpose as that of the New, whereas they differ as widely as fiction and fact. Besides, the new version of the Bible now issuing in Germany, with marginal indications of the authorship, gives six authors of the Pentateuch, viz.: the Priestly, the Jehovist, the Elohist, the Deuteronomist, the second Deuteronomist and the Redactor, so that the number of hands employed is not quite so well settled as Dr. Briggs supposes. The advocates of the modern system tell us with confidence that the authority and the inspiration of the Bible will remain unchanged, even though it be admitted that the book did not assume its present form until the time of Ezra. But to us this seems literally impossible. Men will compare the actual facts with the explanation given of them, and form their judgment accordingly. They will accept a narrative by a credible author properly vouched for, but to find that what seems to be a contemporary document and has been so accepted for thousands of years, is merely a long subsequent rehash by unknown parties of various documents proceeding from anonymous sources, but marked by specific tendencies, will inflict an irrecoverable shock upon their confidence in Scripture. The holy Book will be no longer to them what it was—an artless statement of what the Most High was pleased to reveal for human guidance and comfort, the writers being always under the direction of the divine Spirit. On the contrary, the history will come to them as a compilation by unknown hands

of what was written by equally unknown persons, and manipulated at sundry times and in various ways without even the least hint having ever been given of this mode of procedure.

Nor will their confidence be restored by the way in which Dr. Briggs allows himself to speak of "some ministers and editors who are not critics," and who have been outspoken in their opposition to his course. He says (p. 278), "Our Saviour represents such enemies of the truth as hissing serpents (Matt. 23:33): Paul writes of them as dogs (Phil. 3:2)." It remains to be seen whether the Professor's abilities and acquirements entitle him to assume such a lordly and contemptuous tone toward those who feel compelled to differ from him and to do what they can to hinder the continuance of his teachings.

The common opinion of the Christian Church is that the heathen not living up to their own sense of duty are hopelessly lost. Dr. Briggs acknowledges that this is according to the popular theology, which ministers preach and people accept, but he adds, they do not really believe it in their hearts. "If they did they would be more worthy of damnation than the heathen themselves" (p. 46). Such is the way in which a professor in a Presbyterian seminary allows himself to talk. The rashness, the shallowness, the wickedness of the utterance need not be dwelt upon.

The author recites the progress of the higher criticism, and claims that it has secured the assent of all the professional scholars of the Continent, and the most of those of Great Britain, and a majority of the Old Testament professors in America (p. 278). The notable exceptions among the last mentioned are Professors Green, Osgood and Bissell. He thinks it very improbable that more than a hundred specialists in this study should all be wrong, and these three Americans have the right of it. We answer that his enumeration on both sides is neither complete nor accurate; that even were it so, the minority in the days of Noah was much smaller, and yet held the truth, as was the case centuries afterward, when Athanasius stood alone against the world for what is the historic faith of the Church, and that some names on his list, (*e.g.*, Kuenen, Wellhausen,) have made shipwreck of the faith by pushing the methods of the higher criticism to their legitimate conclusion, and that Dr. Briggs bids fair to arrive, in due time, at the same mournful result. He, no more than any other man, can jump halfway down a precipice.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

A SELECT LIBRARY OF NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Second Series. Translated into English with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes under the Editorial Supervision of PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., etc., and HENRY WACE, D.D., etc., in Connection with a Number of Patristic Scholars of Europe and America. Vol. IV., "Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria." Edited with Prolegomena, Indices, and Tables by ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON, Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham; late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. New York: The Christian Literature Company; Oxford and London: Parker & Co., 1892.

The fourth volume of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Library has been awaited with impatience, and will be gladly welcomed by all historical students. Within the compass of a single volume the publishers have given us the majority of Athanasius' most important works and all of his extant letters, with the exception of a few minor fragments, accompanied with extensive and admirable prolegomena and notes, the whole constituting the most convenient and complete Athanasian apparatus in English, or, indeed, in any modern language. The very richness of the volume increases the student's regret that Athanasius' complete works could not have been included in the series. But since its necessary limits were such as to make that impossible, and a selection consequently had to be made, we may congratulate ourselves upon the wisdom displayed by the editors. The writer especially regrets the omission of the *Orationes ad Scapionem*, and to a lesser degree of the so-called *Contra Apollinarium*, and is of the opinion that the *Vita Antonii* might have been spared without serious loss; but, on the whole, though there may be a difference of opinion at certain points, the selection is beyond criticism, and is, perhaps, under the circumstances, the very best that could have been made.

To emphasize the importance of such a volume as the one before us is almost superfluous. The Greek Church had perhaps greater theologians, certainly greater philosophers than Athanasius; many surpassed him in learning, many more in the power of systematic thinking; but few if any were gifted with deeper and truer insight, and none of them, taken all in all, was a greater man. But the chief value of Athanasius' writings, with which alone we are here concerned, lies in the fact that they were drawn from him by the stress of circumstances, and that they reveal as no other works of the early Church do the marks of a great theological conflict, the effects of which have been permanent. To understand the development of Christian doctrine, to understand the heritage that has come down to us, it is essential that we familiarize ourselves with the genius and temper of the fourth century, and that we trace the forces which then had play, and the results which were then reached. But the fourth century was not the beginning of things. The great figure of Athanasius and the first oecumenical council have at times filled too large a place in the horizon of Christian thought, and too few have been able to look beyond them with a clear and unembarrassed gaze; but no less injustice is thus done to Athanasius than to the fa-

thers that preceded him. In more senses than one the early fourth century was the climax of a development that had been going on in the Christian Church since the time of the apostles. From Athanasianism, on the one side, and from Arianism, on the other, we can trace back the lines of development to the very earliest days. Only because Athanasianism and Arianism were growths have they any significance to us. Leaping full grown from the head of Jove, they might have been curiosities worthy of a place in some museum—more they could not have been. The editor of the present volume knows this well, and in his recognition of the fact lies the chief value of his part of the work. After reading carefully his prolegomena the student will be prepared rightly to estimate the significance and the influence of Athanasius. We welcome this excellent volume, then, above all because it is calculated to correct such misapprehensions as are all too apt to exist in the minds especially of those not intimately acquainted with the ante-Nicene age, and to guide the reader toward a truer view of the history of Christian doctrine. We rejoice that the labors of Harnack are so evidently bearing fruit in England.

Turning to the volume in hand for a more particular examination of it, we note that the prolegomena by Mr. Robertson fill seventy-eight pages, and present the life of Athanasius with all needed fullness. The troubled and eventful years of his long episcopate are carefully traced, and all possible light is thrown upon disputed matters, while the difficult chronological questions involved are carefully elucidated. The story of Athanasius' life is a very fascinating one, and though Mr. Robertson's account is, as it should be, critical and not pictorial, vivid interest attaches to it. The life of the man is in this case an excellent introduction to, and, in some respects, the best commentary upon his writings. A complete list of these writings, so far as known to us, is given in the prolegomena, together with such an account of them as is needed by way of general introduction, while the character and theology of Athanasius, as well as Arianism and the Arian controversy, are treated with commendable thoroughness.

The work throughout reveals painstaking care and a mastery even of the minutest details of the subjects involved. The most interesting and important parts of the prolegomena are the paragraphs on the antecedents of Arianism, in which the editor follows in the main the lead of Harnack—whose discussion of the subject in his *Dogmengeschichte* has thrown new light upon the history of the whole period—and the chapter on the theology of Athanasius, which is very complete and useful. The introductions to the several works of Athanasius are all from the hand of Mr. Robertson, and are at once concise and comprehensive and well adapted to the end in view.

The translations, with the exception of the *Contra Gentes*, the *Vita Antonii*, and some of the epistles and minor writings, which have been made especially for this edition, are from Newman's famous Oxford edition, with revisions, and, it need hardly be said, are of the highest standard of excellence. The present edition is immeasurably superior to all previous ones, and its points of excellence are so many that criticism seems ungracious. To possess the chief works of the great Greek father in such a form is in itself a cause of rejoicing, and to have them furnished with such admirable and copious helps increases our sense of obligation both to publishers and to editors. Evidently no pains have

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ARTHUR C. MCGIFFERT.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS CONTENTS OF THE PSALTER, IN THE LIGHT OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. With an Introduction and Appendices. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1889 on the Bampton Foundation. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891. 8vo, pp. xxxviii., 517, \$4.

In these lectures the author maintains the view that the whole of the Psalter, with the possible exception of Ps. xviii., is post-exilic. Even of Ps. xviii. he speaks with hesitation. He "cannot complain if some prefer to regard the Psalm as an imaginative work of the exile" (p. 206). Ten or twelve Psalms he assigns to the period of the Restoration; twenty-seven, more or less, to the Maccabean period; some sixteen to the pre-Maccabean-Greek period. But it is to the Persian period, and especially the later part of it, that we are indebted for most of the Psalms.

Professor Cheyne's arguments leave me unconvinced. He starts from the assumption that Simon the Maccabee edited the last two books of the Psalter soon after 142 B.C. (p. 12). But he admits that "we have no ancient record" of such editing, though the prosaic author of 1 Maccabees "warns into poetry in telling of the prosperity of Israel under Simon," and "makes it the climax of his description that he 'made glorious the sanctuary, and multiplied the vessels of the temple'" (1 Mac. xiv. 15). The argument from silence is no doubt precarious; but the fact must be faced that "our one first-class authority for the Maccabean period" is absolutely silent about that "reconstruction of the temple-psalms" to which "we may, nay, we must, conjecture . . . that the noble high priest and virtual king, Simon, devoted himself;" and is equally silent about the editing of the last two books of the Psalter which we are told to connect with it.

Thus the foundation and starting point of Professor Cheyne's argument is a conjecture, or, rather, a series of conjectures; and though it is true, as he tells us, that "the dark places of history must sometimes be illumined by the torch of conjecture," it cannot be too carefully remembered that the torch is not daylight, and is extremely apt to cast misleading shadows.

The history of the canon is admittedly so obscure that it would be rash dogmatically to assert the impossibility of such a late date for the final arrangement of the last two books of the Psalter. But in spite of Professor Cheyne's arguments to the contrary, I cannot but think that (1) the language of the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, with its implicit distinction between canonical and deuterocanonical books; (2) the probable date and actual character of the Septuagint version of the Psalter; (3) the use made of Psalms xvi., cv., cvi., cxxxii., in 1 Chron. xvi. 8-36; 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42; (4) the silence of 1 Maccabees; when taken together, create a very strong presumption against the possibility of so late a date for the last two books of the Psalter. In estimating the weight of historical probabilities, the arguments must be taken all together, and not separately; and taken together, they point distinctly in the opposite direction to Professor Cheyne's conjecture.

Starting from his conjectural hypothesis, Professor Cheyne proceeds to fix the probable dates of particular Psalms. He assigns some seventeen Psalms in Books IV. and V. to the Maccabean period, and about seven more to the pre-Maccabean-Greek period. Some of these Psalms may, plausibly enough, be thought to reflect the circumstances of the Maccabean age; and if there are Maccabean Psalms in the Psalter at all, it is natural to look for some of them in what is undoubtedly, in the main, the latest part of the Psalter. But it may be questioned whether these Psalms cannot equally well be explained from the circumstances of other periods, and whether there are not conspicuous features of the Maccabean age which are absent. And his treatment of Ps. cxxxvii. is an example of the arbitrary criticism into which Professor Cheyne is forced by his theory of the date of these books. If any Psalm bears upon the face of it clear indications of the time at which it was composed, it is this Psalm. The writer and those for whom he speaks are still smarting under the fresh recollection of the sufferings of the exile. But this will not suit Professor Cheyne's theory. "So striking a poem, if composed soon after the Return, would have found a home in the third book of the Psalms." Why so is not quite clear, for Psalms xciii., xciv.-c. are placed about 516 B.C. But Ps. cxxxvii. must be regarded as a "dramatic lyric," and assigned to the age of Simon.

It is, however, in the denial of the existence of pre-exilic Psalms in the Psalter (with the possible exception of Ps. xviii.) that Professor Cheyne's criticism is most arbitrary. That religious poetry existed before the Exile is certain. I must decline to abandon the evidence of Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4 on this point; and it is supplemented by the reference to the ancient praises of Israel in the temple in Isa. lxiv. 11, and by such a passage as Jer. xxxiii. 11. The Lamentations, which Professor Cheyne allows to have been written in the Exile, are, if I am not mistaken, artificial in style as well as in form. They are clear evidence that the art of writing sacred poetry had been long and largely practised. There is, then, an *a priori* probability that the Psalter contains pre-exilic Psalms. It would be strange, indeed, if none of the pre-exilic Psalms had been preserved. In the first place, then, at least those Psalms which contain a definite reference to the king, such as ii., xviii., xx., xxi., xlv., lxi., lxiii., lxxii., presumably belong to the period of the monarchy. Why, except in the interests of a theory, should Ps. ii. be regarded as a dramatic lyric, written long after the Return, by a poet who throws himself back into the age of David or Solomon? Surely, if evidence of tone and style are worth anything at all, this Psalm must have been written in view of actual facts. In the prophets we find Messianic hopes, such as those which are expressed in this Psalm, springing out of and closely connected with the circumstances of the time. Why should we assume that it is otherwise in the Psalter? The reference of Ps. xlv. and lxiii. to Ptolemy Philadelphus is singularly unsatisfactory from every point of view. Why should Ps. xx., xxi., lxi., lxiii. be referred to Judas or Simon? Professor Cheyne by no means disposes of the objection that the title of the king was studiously avoided by these princes, and only assumed by Aristobulus and his successors (105 B.C.).

Further, Ps. xlv., lxviii., lxxv., lxxvi. may much more naturally be referred to the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib, than "at the earliest to one of the happier parts of the Persian

age." We are told that "the Jewish Church in Isaiah's time was far too germinal to have sung these expressions of daring monotheism and impassioned love for the temple." If this means that these Psalms soar far above the belief of the average Israelite of the time, I am quite ready to admit it. But that is no argument against their having been composed by Isaiah, or a poet fired with Isaiah's enthusiasm and insight, and used in the public celebration of the deliverance of Zion. Do all those who join in a Church hymn appropriate its full meaning? But if it means that there is anything in these Psalms in advance of Isaiah's theology, I deny the fact. It may be remarked, by the way, that it is distinctly *not* "impassioned love for the temple" which inspires Ps. xvi. and xlviii., but admiring love for the *city*, which has been so signally delivered; and the thought of these Psalms is in full accord with Isaiah's teaching on the inviolability of Zion. Professor Cheyne will hardly allow an argument from quotations; but it appears to me quite certain that Lam. ii. 15 unites Ps. xlviii. 2 and Ps. l. 2.

If these Psalms can securely be claimed for the age of the kingdom, they may carry others with them. Into the question of Davidic Psalms I will not enter here. But I observe that Professor Cheyne "says for himself that he cannot divide sharply between the age of David and that, say, of Isaiah" (p. 191); and for myself I must still ask with Riehm how David came to be regarded as the "sweet Psalmist of Israel," and how so many Psalms came to be ascribed to him, unless he was really a psalmist, and some of these Psalms were actually written by him? What Professor Cheyne means by his "second David" (p. 194) I am at a loss to understand.

One result of Professor Cheyne's criticism is to credit the obscure Persian period, and especially the later part of it, with the production of the greater part of the Psalter. To assign so many of the Psalms, including some of the highest poetical merit and the most varied character, to a period of which so little is really known, is exceedingly precarious. On linguistic grounds, moreover, it is highly questionable. While it is no doubt possible that later psalmists imitated earlier models, it seems improbable that we should possess only the imitations, and that the diction of the Psalms, which are presumed to be very late, should not show more traces of changes which there is reason to believe were passing over the language.

To consider the bearing of the religious contents of the Psalter upon its date would lead me far beyond my limits; but there are one or two points on which I venture to offer the briefest remark. The free use of the name Jehovah in the fourth and fifth books of the Psalter is in strong contrast to the avoidance of Divine names in 1 Maccabees; and certainly, if the author of 1 Maccabees at all reflects the spirit of the age, this is one argument against the hypothesis that these books were arranged by Simon. Further, it still seems to me that considerably more than a century must be allowed for the growth and development of religious thought between the canonical Psalter and the Psalms of Solomon.

There is, moreover, no little force in the objection which Riehm urges to the theory of a late post-exilic date for the majority of the Psalms. It is admitted, he says, even by Reuss, that the Psalms show a spirit akin to the spirit of the Gospel, and that the same conceptions of God's nature and man's duty as are found in the Psalms are to be

found in the prophets. And yet we are asked to believe that this spirit akin to the Gospel is not the spirit of the prophetic age, but the spirit of a Judaism which was binding itself more and more closely to the letter of the law, and sinking more and more deeply into a righteousness of works. Judaism might make use of the treasures of song derived from ancient times, but it could not have produced them.—A. F. KIRKPATRICK, in the *Divine Library of the Old Testament*.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

THE CHRISTIAN HOME. Its Foundation and Duties. By W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Worcester, and Vicar of Hoar Cross. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., [1891.] 12mo, pp. xiii., 287, \$1.75.

Bating one or two points, such as show a too strong leaning to sacramentarianism—Christian baptism and marriage—this is an excellent and timely book. It treats of a trite subject in an original and forcible way. Its teachings are just, generous, wholesome. The topics comprehend such relations as naturally occur to one in thinking of the home, and they are discussed, in the main, with a fairness, a fulness, and a practicalness which must commend the author's views to all who read the book. Nothing is slighted, and no important issue is dodged; every responsibility is squarely met. The chapters on Courtship and Marriage, Parents and Children, may go into any hands, and be read by the most fastidious and even prurient minds not only without detriment, but with positive advantage. The elements involved, while boldly put, are yet set with such propriety and grace of expression that only pure thoughts are suggested.

I like the "ethos" which runs through the presentation of the various relationships of the sexes. While the young marry for love, they are not to forget that they never get away from the sense of moral obligation. This obligation must ever be present to re-enforce natural affection. "In fact, it must be remembered that there is an ethos or temper appropriate to married life which, if this life is to be happy, must be carefully and conscientiously preserved, and which can be preserved by the power of God. That ethos is, perhaps, best described as *trust* and *faithfulness*. Every temptation of the devil toward failure in these, not merely in some gross and serious manner, but in the very first-springs of thought, ought to be crushed as a deadly sin." The same "ethos" exists between parents and children. It will readily be seen how important are both recognition of this law and insistence upon it, as tending to counter-work the laxity which is springing up both in the marital and parental relations. It is becoming quite too common in England and America for the children to be relegated to the care of nurses or tutors, while the fathers drive their bargains on 'Change or lounge in the club rooms, and the mothers betake themselves to novel-reading and society. The imperative *ought* should interpose in behalf of offspring at its most formative period, otherwise a faithless and irresponsible generation will arise.

The chapter on Master and Servants is an admirable one, though better adapted to conditions in England than in America. Its principles are safe for both countries.

It is especially pleasant that the author recognizes the place of the unmarried in the household. The attitude of brothers and sisters, the mutual helpfulness they should render each other, is beautifully portrayed.

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While the wilful celibate, the one who deliberately refuses marriage, and flaunts his cynicism in everybody's face, is soundly condemned; the true celibate, who for high and sufficient reasons remains in a single life, is duly praised and the condition vindicated. All which is said about the celibate and virginal life as an "avocation" with a "special call," and after a time as "irrevocables" cannot be approved. It has no sufficient warrant in Scripture, and is fraught with danger. Speaking of the class who remain single, "who from circumstances cannot marry," the author holds of these the far larger proportion will be women. "It is doubtless this fact," he claims, "which has given so great an impetus in modern times toward an effort for the altered position of women." He approves this movement as necessary and inevitable. "There is no doubt, I think, that the modern movement with regard to women is distinctly Christian, and that the great value of it is that it tends to help girls far more than was done before to realize the value of life, and to use it well, and a very practical benefit of it is to help the unmarried women, who must always be a large class, to greater happiness and greater usefulness" (p. 174).

The best way to discourage a girl from marrying recklessly is to teach her habits of self-respecting independency, so that she will not need to marry until such a man offers himself as deserves to be loved, and who will, in her judgment, help her to a holy, happy, and useful life. The right sort of independency cannot be inconsistent with what is truly womanly. While a girl should avoid everything that is "mannish and fast, and knock-him-down, and doctrinaire, and aggressive" as unwomanly, yet she may unite strength with tenderness as truly becoming to her, as a man may join tenderness with strength as the highest type of Christian manhood.

The chapters on The Home and Happiness, The Home and Sorrow, The Home beyond the Grave, merit full notice, but space forbids. The book must be read to be appreciated.

H. B. RIDGWAY.

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, EVANSTON, ILL.

THE DIVINE ENTERPRISE OF MISSIONS. A Series of Lectures delivered at New Brunswick, N. J., before the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, upon the "Graves" Foundation, in 1891, by Rev. ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D.D. New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1891. 16mo, pp. 333. Cloth, \$1.25.

The author bases his lectures upon the great commission presented "in four different aspects" by the four evangelists. The "idea and plan of missions" is outlined in the words of Christ to His apostles: "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea; and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." "The book of Acts is the typical history of the first age of missions, and a key to all future ages of Church history." "It illustrates the Divine purpose, and furnishes a practical example of the results which we are to expect to follow faithful witness." "The ruling idea is *witness*, but the grand features of the plan are its *purpose, order, scope, method, stress, power and results*." These features are stated, explained, illustrated, and enforced with all the force and energy and fervid zeal which characterize the author. No one, we think, will follow Dr. Pierson as he unfolds his theme without feeling his heart humbled and quickened—humbled under the

sad neglect and failure of the Church to fulfil its divine commission, and quickened with better and stronger purposes for the future. Every one will agree with him that this is the work of the Church, binding upon it now and always; that love to Church and love to the souls of men will lead the Church to the work; that it will require a higher measure of consecration than the Church has yet reached, and that there is nothing which will restrain the gift of the Holy Spirit if the Church seeks Him by prayer. And by the Church is meant, as the author well insists, not the body of Christ's people merely, but each and every believer.

But Dr. Pierson very frankly tells his auditors and readers that "to get God's own conception of missions informed and infixed in our minds, our hearts, and our practical methods, might lead to the partial and even total revolution of our present mission work." The plans and methods of mission work are to some extent tentative; they are very inadequate, it may be, to the end sought. Great changes may be suggested by the experience of the Church and the fuller understanding of its mission. But Dr. Pierson's idea is not that the plan may be improved, but that it rests upon a mistaken conception of the work. The great function of the Church, and that which the Saviour insists upon in the commission, as He understands the commission, is to witness to Christ and His Gospel; that the hope of turning the world to Christ, or of converting the nations, has no foundation in the Scriptures, and that to cherish such a hope or to adopt plans which are designed to secure it, is to hinder the Church in accomplishing its real and pressing work, which is to preach the Gospel to every creature, or, what is equivalent in the author's view, "to witness the truth" to all men. A broad line of distinction between preaching the Gospel to every creature and teaching those things which Christ has commanded runs through the commission. The preaching is essentially the same as witnessing—"the soul of preaching is witnessing"—but teaching is the "after training of those who have been evangelized." "To confound these is a mistake that is fundamental." The one is simply "heralding of good tidings," the other is the gathering of converts into churches, and then bringing them under the culture of Christian institutions and truth. And yet our author himself finds it difficult to observe his own distinction; for he says, "The conversion of souls, the out-gathering of converts from the world, and their ingathering into the Church, the erection of a Christian home, the setting up of Christian school, college, printing press, and medical mission, the whole array of Christian institutions, all these belong to the witness," which is yet "the simple heralding of the Gospel."

It is enough, perhaps, to say, in regard to this theory of mission work, that it is one-sided. It does not provide for the full commission entrusted to the Church. It is certain that the Church could neither fulfil its commission nor discharge its own conscience by "the simple heralding of the Gospel," even if it could, by one supreme effort, send men into every part of the world, who should witness to Christ, or tell all men the good news of the Gospel. The theory of missions, which lies imbedded in the New Testament, upon which the Church has acted, and which is confirmed by all its experience in its mission work, is that Christ has entrusted His Church with the mission of making His Gospel known to men, and thus bringing men to Himself, that to this end He has clothed

His Church with authority, endowed it with all the powers and facilities necessary to do the work, and, above all, gifted it with the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, who makes the witness and the preaching of the Church effective, whose office it is to convince the world of sin and righteousness and judgment, and thus bring the world to Christ. Thus endowed and qualified, the Church testifies, proclaims the good news of salvation, teaches the nations, makes disciples of them, establishes Christian ordinances, plants Christian institutions, and is justified in expecting that its mission will be successful. And as the dispensation of the Spirit closes with the present age, whatever is done to fulfil this mission must be done now.

The view advocated by Dr. Pierson seems to us defective, and, therefore, misleading. But with this exception we can heartily commend these lectures as full of the fire and energy which characterize their author, all aglow with zeal and love to the souls of men, the outgrowth of honest convictions, and well fitted to rouse the conscience of the Church and stimulate it to a deeper interest and share in this "Divine enterprise."

ABRAHAM GOSMAN.

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J.

PROBLEMS OF CHRISTIANITY AND SCEPTICISM. Lessons from Twenty Years' Experience in the Field of Christian Evidence. By the Rev. ALEXANDER J. HARRISON, B.D., Vicar of Lightcliffe, Evidential Missioner of the Church Parochial Missionary Society, Lecturer of the Christian Evidence Society. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. xvii., 340.

The author of the above work gives in it much of his own intellectual biography. Early in life he was troubled by the doubts and difficulties which especially beset those who are by nature religious, and he describes the process by which he found his way out of them, and reached his present position as a clergyman of the Church of England. Sympathy with those who are assaulted in the same way has led him to devote his life to the special work of familiarizing himself with the arguments *pro* and *con*, and endeavoring to save others from the perplexities through which he has himself passed. As a narrative of his experience as a lecturer the book is extremely interesting. He has evidently acquired great adroitness in dealing with the popular forms of unbelief. Hence the work will be of great service to clergymen and others who are called upon for a similar function.

The author is entirely free from bigotry. He recognizes the fact that bigotry and intolerance are the mother and nurse of free-thinking, and responsible for much unbelief. He states fairly and in their full strength all the arguments of his adversaries. From long experience he has been enabled to classify the various forms of scepticism, and to detect their starting-points or animating principles. Some of his argumentative combats are quite amusing in the narration.

The style of the book is perspicuous and popular, not remarkable for abundant and felicitous illustration or for musical flow; and some may think it wanting in philosophical precision; yet it is without obscurity, and pervaded with a spirit of clarity. He sympathizes with much that he opposes because he has himself felt its force.

Theologically the work does not go below a cer-

tain depth, and may not fully meet the case of the philosophic objector. It does not give, such may think, the fundamental questions, upon whose solution the validity of the whole argument depends; yet even such it will serve by narrowing the discussion in the ultimate appeal to these same philosophic problems. One is led to see what further he needs for the ultimate decision. There is, for instance, no attempt to show the absolute rationality of the doctrine of the unity in Trinity, nor the absolute need of the Incarnation as the only possible means, for thought, of human moral recovery. The author's position, in these regards, is the dogmatic rather than the philosophical one; and to justify this there is needed a satisfactory view of inspiration.

In arguing with those whose thought can go to a certain depth, he uses, effectively sometimes, the *argumentum ad hominem*; which, indeed, is the true way of dealing with the more formidable objectors to Christianity. It is very easy to find little flaws, and even serious difficulties in any system whatever claiming to be true; not only such as are inherent in it, but particularly such as have arisen because it has had to run through the mould of human intellects, and shows the stains and distortions it has received thereby. But, one may ask, "What have you to put in its place?" Your negative argument is of no worth until you have given us something positive in the stead of that to which you object. Weave your thought into a consistent whole, and let us compare it with a philosophic system, in which dogmatic Christianity finds its proper and needed place, and see which of them solves most satisfactorily the crucial questions." There is really no intermediate position for an honest, thoughtful mind between these or such alternations. Besides, there is only the fluctuating one of the persistent *Pyrrhonist*. Such, indeed, seems to be the position of some of the most eminent objectors to Christianity in our own day. They attack, in various ways, this, that, and the other in Christianity as popularly held, but give us nothing coherent instead. Some seem to be without an explicit system. They simply take scientific results as facts, till something occurs to modify the view, and beyond this refuse to think. Yet, all the while, there must be a system implicit in their minds to justify their interpretation of these facts. This hesitating state of mind, which leaves everything in an atmosphere of doubt, must needs deaden or make irresolute all moral activity. This is a most melancholy condition for men to be in, and leads to a despairing pessimism; yet, perhaps, a needful phase of man's mental history, and destined to endure till its paralyzing influence becomes manifest.

But for all besides this limited stratum of philosophic doubters, the book under review will be worthy of attention, and for many securely helpful. Cases similar to those the author narrates are constantly recurring in the experience of all clergymen, and here is an armory of weapons ready at their hand.

JOHN STEINFORT KEDNEY.
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THE LITERATURE OF THE SECOND CENTURY. Short Studies in Christian Evidences. By F. R. WYNNE, D.D., J. H. BERNARD, B.D., and S. HEMPHILL, B.D. New York: James Pott & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. viii., 270, \$1.25.

This book is a study in historical apologetics as its titles indicate. It consists of lectures written

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in a popular style by men of entire competency, and forms an admirable example of how scholarly results can be presented in non-scholastic terms so as to be intelligible to the less learned. And yet it would be a great mistake to imagine it below the learned. It will be safe to say that a specialist in the field, who cannot look over this unincumbered, cogent, and refreshing presentation of elementary matter with which he is familiar, to his interest and pleasure, knows not anything yet as he ought to know. The writers are all professors or lecturers in the University of Dublin. The six lectures are equally apportioned among them, each taking two. Canon Wynne treats of "The Evidence to Christianity supplied by the Literature of the Sub-apostolic Age" and "The Gradual Growth of the New Testament Canon."

Confining himself to the safe inner circle of documents whose authority and dates are substantially unquestioned, he mentions, but does not use, the Didache. He traces the thread of Christian evidence to show how "Irenæus, Justin, Papias, Hermas, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, Clement, St. John, and St. Paul" fill up all the time between Christ's death and the period when Christianity was as well known as it is now. He has similarly traced the canon.

Mr. Bernard treats of "The Apocryphal Gospels" and "The Miraculous in Early Christian Literature." In the former he presents the evidence from the sharp contrast in dignity and intrinsic credibility of the true and false gospels, and in the latter makes the distinction between Gospel and ecclesiastical miracles to be one of testimony, thus putting the controversy whether one kind of miracle is as good as the other on a sound historical basis. Mr. Hemphill treats of "The Long Lost Harmony" (Tatian's Diatessaron) and "Early Vestiges of the Fourfold Gospel." Respecting the former he maintains two points, "that the Diatessaron existed, and that it was compiled by Tatian," and concludes that this shows the four Gospels to have been recognized during the third quarter of the second century as the only authentic form of apostolic tradition. In the "Early Vestiges" the author forms a ladder on which he descends from Clement, Irenæus, and Tertullian to Tatian (172), from Tatian to Justin Martyr (150), from Justin to Papias (130), who implies that the Gospels have been written "long before." The author of lectures one and two gives as his chief reliances Lightfoot, Westcott, Sanday, and Salmon, than which there could hardly be better. His collaborators use equally good literature, and all show evidence of sufficient knowledge of their sources.

It is not every day that a book is produced which is suited to so large an audience—ministers, theological students, Sunday-school teachers—and the "average layman" can and ought to find in it both interest and profit.

E. C. RICHARDSON.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

THE LARGER CHRIST. By Rev. GEORGE D. HERRON. Introduction by Rev. Josiah Strong, D.D. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1891. 16mo, cloth, 75 cents.

This is an excellent book on an important subject. The object of the author is to give the reader a larger view of Christ in His redemptive work and a corresponding enlarged view of Christian

obligation. This is done in four chapters: I. The Discovery of Christ the Need of our Times II. Innocence Suffering for Guilt. III. The Growing Christ—The Dying Self. IV. The Resurrection of Life.

The character of Christ stands up alone in the world's history. Like the blue arch above us, the character of Christ rises as we rise, lifting itself up into unattainable heights of purity and moral grandeur. One view of Christ revolutionized Paul's whole nature. Such a view of the crucified One lifts man's whole nature at once; and, like everything perfect, the more we know of it the loftier will be our appreciation, and the sublimer will be the transforming results.

The tap-root of all sin is selfishness, and the vital principle of all holiness is self-sacrificing love. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that, because Christ suffered officially, He has the whole field of self-sacrifice entirely to Himself; for, in His sufferings, He was conformed to the one universal law of love; and every Christian, coming under the law of love, comes into a life of self-sacrifice. "The dying self is the growing Christ."

The Christian life is the only life that will ever be completed: "I shall be satisfied when I awake in Thy likeness," has been the sigh of the ages. The Divine image is the ideal of creation, the final prophecy of Christianity, the climax of redemption. Without Christ human life is a broken column—the human race an unfinished pyramid.

The author writes at white heat. The burden of the Lord is upon his soul. He has something to say, and he says it. His style is terse and direct. He has mastered the art of verbal economy. His diction is varied and copious—blazing up sometimes into a sudden explosion of prophetic grandeur. His spiritual insight is of a high order. No modern writer has stirred me more deeply than this author. I commend this book to every devout Christian who desires a larger view of Christ and His redemptive work.

J. M. BOLAND.

PARIS, KY.

BRIEF REVIEWS, BY THE EDITOR.

When a great man dies the story of his life obtains an accentuated importance—an interest is taken in the subject commensurate with the impression which he has made upon the popular imagination, or the affection and esteem which he has aroused in the hearts of the people. A case in point is the story of the life of Mr. Spurgeon. The announcement of his departure was received with sadness and a sense of loss by millions. Multitudes to whom he was more than a mere name took interest in the published details, and many have taken in hand to set forth the story of his life as it was known to them. But in spite of the number of "lives" which have fallen from the press in the interval, it is not too much to say that "the life" of the great preacher has not yet appeared. We have before us, however, several contributions to the subject which are of greater or less importance and value. It is not necessary at this place to enter into a discussion of the subject of these memoirs, but only to give a brief account of the several books which have come to us.

The titles are as follows: *From the Usher's Desk to the Tabernacle Pulpit.* The life and labors of Charles Haddon Spurgeon. By Rev. Robert Shindler. (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1892.

Cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 316, \$1.50).—*Life of Charles Haddon Spurgeon*, the world's great preacher. By Russell H. Conwell. Illustrated. (Philadelphia: Edge-wood Publishing Co., 1892. Cr. 8vo.)—*Charles Haddon Spurgeon*; preacher, author, philanthropist, with anecdotal reminiscences. By G. Holden Pike. Introduction by William Cleaver Wilkinson, and concluding chapters by James C. Fernald. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xv., 397, \$1.)—*C. H. Spurgeon*, his life and ministry. By Jesse Page. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 12mo, pp. 160, 75 cents.)

Each one of these books has features of its own which call for mention, and upon which an estimate of its value may be formed. The first was evidently prepared in part before the death of the subject; and as it was written from the vantage-ground of intimate friendship and of an acquaintanceship during nearly the whole period of the London ministry, it may lay some special claim to being the "authorized life." It is a very readable book, and gives a somewhat intimate though scarcely a complete view of the man, his principles, and his work. The volume of Mr. Conwell is that of an admirer, possibly of an imitator—at least the publisher's prelude gives rise to this latter suspicion. It is the largest of the lot, contains some excellent material, and more in quotation marks. It was evidently made in haste to meet a supposed demand; but it has the value of containing the estimate from a sympathetic pen. Mr. Pike's book is mainly made up of incidents, as is indicated upon the title-page. This gives the book a peculiar character and a value all its own. The introduction by Professor Wilkinson is short, but it contains much in little, being a fitting tribute to the memory of a great man. Mr. Page's book is one prepared in briefer compass than the others, and forms one of a series. The necessities of the case call for certain limitations, but inside of these the work has been well done, and will serve to give a fair idea of the man to such as cannot examine the larger volumes which have appeared.

Cuspar Wistar Hodge. A memorial address. By Francis L. Patton. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 8vo, pp. 61.) This memorial of a notable man by a loving and appreciative hand was prepared at the request of his colleagues in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and delivered during the fall of last year. It will be welcomed by a large circle of pupils who have enjoyed and profited by his instruction.

Records of the Past, being English translations of the ancient monuments of Egypt and Western Asia. New Series. Vol. III. Edited by A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D. London: Bagster; New York: Potts, 12mo, pp. xxiii., 131. We have already spoken of the first two volumes of this series. The present is a worthy continuation, containing a valuable introduction by the editor on the data for determining the chronology of Babylonia and Assyria. The body of the book is composed about equally of Egyptian and Assyrian texts, the most interesting of which is a series of letters to Egypt from Babylonia, Assyria, and Syria in the fifteenth century B.C.

The Moral Crusader. William Lloyd Garrison. A biographical essay founded on "The Story of Garrison's Life Told by his Children." By Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892, 8vo, pp. 200, \$1.) The author has not only done a service by presenting the public with a compendious life of the anti-slavery agitator, but also by presenting tersely and pointedly the phi-

losophy and development of the sentiment which became the ruling and dominant passion of the man. The story as here presented is of great interest, and the volume will constitute an important though short contribution to the subject. A very clear picture of Mr. Garrison is prefixed as a frontispiece.

Life in Christ. A study of the Scriptural doctrine on the nature of man, the object of the Divine incarnation, and the conditions of human immortality. By Edward White. Third edition, revised and enlarged. (New York: Thomas Whitaker, 8vo, pp. xvi., 543, \$1.50.) This is a new edition of a work originally published in 1875, now revised in the light of criticism. Strange to say, the preface to the third edition is dated December, 1877. The work in former editions has been widely read, having been translated into French and Danish. "The leading idea of the work is a revival of a doctrine prevalent in the Ante Nicene Church, that man's soul is not necessarily immortal, and therefore it must cease to exist unless renewed in eternal life through the work of redemption in Christ." The author is Professor of Homiletics in New College, London.

The Fourth Gospel. Evidences external and internal of its Johannine authorship. Essays by Ezra Abbot, Andrew P. Peabody, and Bishop Lightfoot. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891, 8vo, pp. vi., 171, \$1.50.) The first of these papers has been long before the public—"The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel: External Evidences"—and it is not necessary to do more than mention it. The last, by Bishop Lightfoot, on the "Internal Evidence for the Authenticity and Genuineness of St. John's Gospel," was first published in the *Expositor* in 1890. The second paper on "Internal Tokens of Authorship in the Fourth Gospel," by Dr. Peabody, is the result of a close study of the Gospel itself, which has issued in the conviction that "no one but John could have written it." The volume is a valuable and convenient contribution to an exceedingly important and interesting subject.

Bible Difficulties and How to Meet Them. A symposium. Edited by Frederick A. Atkins. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 12mo, pp. 114, 50 cents.) A collection of papers on topics of interest at the present time by men who are competent to their tasks. Some of the subjects discussed are "Inspiration," "Bible and Science," "Miracles," "Reliability of the Gospels," "Incarnation," "Atonement," and "Resurrection." The quality of some of the papers is worthy of all praise, though the general character of the series is excellent. It is not necessary to agree with everything which a writer says in order to gain most improvement from what he writes.

The Life and Light of Men. Expositions of John i.-xii. By F. B. Meyer, B.A. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 251, \$1.) "There is no part of Scripture more conducive to the culture of the inner life; and it is under this aspect that it is considered in the following pages." We have already commented favorably upon a number of the little books of this author, and the present one is no exception to the general rule as to insight and helpfulness. It is the result of pious and devout meditation.

Windows; or, Gospel Lights for Gospel Subjects. Suggestions for addresses and lessons on Scripture emblems. By Sarah G. Stock. (Same publishers, 1892, 12mo, pp. 130, 60 cents.) The substance of this volume has the appearance, more or less, of the brief notes which a speaker might take in his

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hand if he were to deliver an extempore address to a Sabbath school. Thirty-four topics are presented, with some practical illustrations of the methods by which the "windows" may be used to let in the light. The different sections are practically Bible readings upon the topics in question.

BRIEF MENTION.

The Risen Redeemer: the Gospel history from the Resurrection to the Day of Pentecost. By F. W. Krummacker, D.D. Translated from the German by John T. Betts, with the sanction of the author. (New York: American Tract Society, 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 298, \$1.) A reissue of a well-known classic, formerly published by the Carters.

The Problem of Jesus. By George Dana Boardman, D.D., LL.D. Revised edition. (New York and Chicago: Revell, 16mo, pp. 36, 35 cents.) Compact, suggestive, stimulating.

The Morals of Christ. A comparison with contemporaneous systems. By Austin Bierbower. Second edition. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 200, paper, 50 cents.) Unity Library, No. 10.

Lecture on the Bible. By Rev. Charles Voysey, late Vicar at Healaugh, and pastor of the Theistic Church of London, England. Fifth edition. With introduction by Rev. Herbert Taft Root. (Same publishers, 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 31.) Unity Library, No. 11.

The New Life: words of God for young disciples of Christ. By Rev. Andrew Murray. Translated from the Dutch by Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., no date, 12mo, pp. 240, \$1.) Short chapters on various matters of special interest to young Christians; helpful, devout, and good.

Far Out on the Prairies. By the author of "Drew Drake and His Nets." (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1892, 12mo, pp. 320, \$1.15.) A very pretty and instructive story, admirably suited for the Sabbath-school library, to which it will be a valuable addition.

SYNOPSIS OF LEADING ARTICLES FROM PERIODICALS.

Among the numerous current contributions to the subject of Inspiration, the article in the May number of *The Thinker* entitled "How Do Errors in the Bible Affect its Divine Authority and Inspiration?" by Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A., is one of the most notable. As readers of Mr. Lias' former articles know, he acknowledges the existence of errors to a sufficient degree to disprove the absolute inerrancy of the Scriptures. He holds, however, that there are limits within which such admissions are confined, and that the admissions may be carried so far as to destroy the general credit of the Bible. What is the object of the Scriptures? The Christian Church, while regarding them with the deepest reverence, has never officially propounded any theory of inspiration; has never even officially discussed the question of what books the Scriptures consist, and is not committed to any catalogue of them. This disproves the claim that we receive the Bible on the authority of the Church. The Church, leaving the investigation of the evidence for each particular book to the conscience of the individual, thereby teaches that the authenticity and canonicity of the Bible rests on testi-

mony. The ground on which the Scriptures have been handed down is, therefore, the *accuracy of the information concerning God's relation to man* which they contain, this depending on the writer's position as the accredited ambassador of God. Thus the Pentateuch must have been written by some one officially competent to inform us what the teaching of Moses really was; this not involving any Divine interposition, miraculously preserving the writer from all error. Here the tendencies of the higher criticism should be watched. We ought to bear in mind what is and what is not consistent with the Christian position; to distinguish between criticism *ab extra* and *ab infra*. While the Old Testament may be entirely rejected by one who theoretically holds to Christ, the instinct of the Christian Church condemns such a position. If we admit that the history of the Divine education of the world contains errors of vital importance, the result may injuriously modify our conceptions of Christianity. While errors may be admitted, therefore, in minor matters of fact, the line should be drawn at the *direct teaching concerning God's education of man*. Thus, if the Old Testament says that God's revelation was handed down through the Israelitish history, and that Israel was rejected, and Judah shorn of its splendors, because of neglect of such revelation, we are not at liberty to reconstruct the history on critical grounds unless prepared to reject the inspiration of the Old Testament altogether. This is independent of origins and dates of the books. It matters not by whom they were written, or at what date they took their present shape, so long as the writers are competent teachers. If discovered insufficient teachers, the human element overpowers the divine. Criticism is not one of the exact sciences; and it is absurd to abandon a belief founded upon a vast amount of cumulative evidence upon premises resting on an uncertain induction. But a belief in the authority and inspiration of Scripture is not impaired by confining that authority and inspiration to the proclaiming the ways of God to man. The inspiration of the biblical writers did not concern itself with ordinary history, the limits of the natural and the miraculous, natural science, nor the elaboration of a system of theology. From the Bible, rather, are gathered elementary truths; the will of God; the first "principles of the doctrine of Christ." If we admit that incorrect deductions may have been made by the writers from the principles they were commissioned to proclaim, we are nevertheless bound to remember that their position gave them a firmer hold on the truths of religion than we may venture to claim. To conclude: the admission of the existence of error *does* destroy the theory of a revelation made by means of an infallible book, every portion of whose contents is equally important, equally binding on the conscience, and equally impossible to be credited with the smallest fragment of error. But it does *not* destroy the doctrine that the Scriptures contain the true revelation of God. This larger conception will be as vast a help to the theology of the future as its absence has been a hindrance to the theology of the past. This theology will be of the Spirit, not of the letter. It will be built, not on texts, but on principles.

The leading article in the May *Expositor* is a review of Klostermann on the Pentateuch, by Dr. Driver. Klostermann objects to the functions assigned by modern critics to the "Redactor," claiming him to be a person possessing no definite character. Critics should start with Deuteronomy, not

Genesis. The Deuteronomic editor of the law-book discovered under Josiah (i.e., Deut. v.-xxvi., xxviii.), together with the section of "J E" containing the Song of Moses, and who prefixed to that law-book Deut. i.-iv. to connect it with Numbers, and added at the end the hortatory and other matter, is a "living person." Klostermann has laid down the canons for distinguishing what belongs to Deuteronomy proper (Deut. v.-xxvi.) and what is due to this Deuteronomizing editor (Deut. i.-iv.-xxix., etc.). The older critics held the Elohist document (P) to be the earliest. Twenty-five years ago Klostermann discovered, what is usually credited to Wellhausen, that the narrative of P never existed as an original, independent source, but has direct reference to J E, and is, therefore, later than J E. He also sees, what Wellhausen does not, that the author of P is the true long-sought "redactor." P presupposes J E, and is based upon it, being simply compiled as a kind of margin or framework in which to place J E. The LXX contains two Greek texts of the Book of Judges, each similar, but at the same time each marked by certain peculiarities. Imagine all copies lost except two, partly fragmentary, partly exhibiting a mixed text, and that an editorial committee undertook to construct from these a single consecutive text of the entire book. Any failure or obscurity of the one would be supplied from the other; in particular passages they would let that one speak which was most complete, and where the choice was difficult, they would set side by side the expressions of both. The philologist would not infer that this was the work of two separate historians, but the existence of two recensions of one and the same text. This has actually happened in the Hebrew Bible. None of the writings have reached us without the alterations which the Jewish community introduced into them. Passages such as Deut. xxxi. 9ff. show that at the time when they were written public readings of the Law were an old-established institution. These readings would also include historical matter. Explanatory narratives would be necessarily introduced. The narratives compiled for such purposes were recited principally at the great festivals, which for awhile had a "communal" character; hence the narrative would assume a variety of types in different localities. When worship became centralized at Jerusalem, the priests collected and harmonized these various types, combining them with the "Law," strictly so called. So the first draft ("Urbild") of our Pentateuch took shape. The local traditions, combined with the accompanying laws into a continuous narrative, is presumably J E, the learned priestly margin being P. Klostermann meets the objection that this hypothesis exposes the truth of the Divine Word to arbitrary human alteration by remarking that it is not the bare word which is spiritually operative, but the Word as assimilated by the believing community; and hence the community, once brought effectively under its influence, may "re-act" upon the documents which declare it, and modify them for the purposes of edification. . . . The original standard copy perished at the destruction of Jerusalem. Between this and Ezra the copies saved by single communities must at least have undergone as much change as Luther's Bible has done. Klostermann faults present critics because they take as the basis of their investigations the existing Masoretic text; assuming practically the identity of that with the original form of the Pentateuch. Hence their analysis, in the case of J E, is apt to be incon-

clusive, being founded upon distinctions which had no place in the original text. Ezra had no autographs at his disposal; he had only what had been transferred from those autographs, modified in different directions; "his text consequently must have been a harmony of different forms of text synoptically combined." Klostermann next takes up Genesis. One Divine name may have been substituted for another. The old historical style (e.g., "and he said"), being ambiguous, was filled in by a later scribe, sometimes incorrectly; the variation in the names Jacob, Israel, is due to the same cause: old expressions were translated into modern phraseology, the explanation sometimes being introduced into the text beside them; corrections, etc., originally on the margin, often afterward found their way into the text. So far Klostermann. Dr. Driver says, in reference to the above, that it is no doubt true that the Hebrew text has sometimes suffered corruption from the causes here indicated, but very few of the examples adduced by Klostermann are cogent, and the majority rest upon nothing but conjecture. He goes on to ask in what respect are Klostermann's scribes less objectionable than Wellhausen's redactors? What advantage, from a historical point of view, in the theory that J and E are two recensions of one and the same text, over the theory that they are two narratives written independently? On the basis of the former theory, there is no criterion to determine which of the two recensions represents the narrative in its primitive form. Moreover, Klostermann's textual criticism is untrustworthy. His proposed corrections are often forced and unidiomatic—e.g., in Genesis xv. 2, 3, Klostermann censures the critics for finding in the name Eliezer a criterion of E. Under his treatment the name disappears from the text altogether, with the whole of ver. 3. Ver. 2, which now reads, "The steward of my house is (R. V.) Dammesek Eliezer," or (Dillmann) "... is Damascus (the city) of Eliezer," read originally, according to Klostermann, "The steward of my house has furnished me with help;" the first part of ver. 3 is a gloss on "childless" in ver. 2, and the second part a gloss on the words that have been just translated, after they had become corrupted to their present form. No Hebrew scholar, Dr. Driver claims, qualified to form an independent judgment, will indorse Klostermann's "restoration;" quadriliteral verbs are exceedingly rare in Hebrew, and the importation into Hebrew of such a word as the Arabic *damshaga*, with the meaning *deproperavit, cito expedit*, is alone sufficient to condemn it. Numerous other passages from Klostermann's writings are quoted to illustrate his vagaries. The article, which is inspired by a paper in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January (which attacks some of the positions of Dr. Driver) should be read by those who desire to keep abreast of the complex subject of the Higher Criticism.

THE MAGAZINE has lately reprinted several articles on future punishment, from various sources. The opening paper on "Hell," in the current *Methodist Review*, by Bishop Newman, may be regarded as the latest Arminian expression on the subject. The eternity of law is the most majestic of thoughts. The consequences of sin are eternal. Penalties attend transgression. Disobedience is the essence of sin, and sin is disloyalty to authority. Personal liberty is the glory of man. Absolute freedom is inconsistent with the right to rule and the duty to obey. The law of limitation is co-extensive with the rights of individual freedom

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Within such limits man is free to act. Upon the exercise of his rights of individual freedom is suspended his final destiny. Where the issues are forever, the possibilities must be correlative. Each and all will have a full opportunity, without prejudice and obstruction, to distinguish between right and wrong. No matter how long it takes—seventy years or seventy thousand years—God will decide. Man will be content. This the unchanging law to those who follow nature, or the pagan religions, or the Gospel. As all are dependent upon the vicarious merits of Christ, He will present Himself sometime, somewhere, somehow, to every human soul for acceptance or rejection. Nothing less can meet the demands of justice, the claims of mercy, the created rights of man. This is the significance of such texts as, "wherefore God also hath highly exalted him," etc., and, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain," etc. Each soul in its final decision will be in a state and condition as favorable to choose as was Adam prior to his fall. If the consequences of sin are eternal, this aspect of the incorrigible removes the subject from the common wholesale precipitation of untold multitudes of our race into endless torments. Probation supposes trial and temptation, but also possible victory. A probation implies an end. An eternal probation is a contradiction. The final absence of sin in a state where purity is supreme does not arise from the loss of liberty, but from the attainment of permanence of character from the prior exercise of liberty in probation. The reverse is true. In the present life vices become fixed. A state of impurity may be reached to the exclusion of all desire for holiness. The Universalist position is based on the truth that Christ died for all men, and that to doom a soul to eternal death would be to demand a second satisfaction. But this ignores the conditional element of the atonement made by Christ, such as faith, repentance, conversion. Nor has the Restorationist theory scriptural warrant. All the Divine invitations and proclamations presuppose the ability and possibility of rejection. "Ye will not come to Me that ye might have life." This conditional atonement is in harmony with the order and constitution of nature. All that men most highly prize is suspended upon human effort. Some avoid the doctrine of endless torment by assuming that immortality is not inherent in the human soul, but is the reward of virtue. All history is unanimous in the faith of a future life—not from education, but from instinct. There are occasional balks in nature, but no such universal and ceaseless balk as conditional immortality implies. Nothing is clearer in Scripture than that "eternal life" is promised to the good. The old world was destroyed; Sodom was consumed; Jerusalem was left a desolation; the empires which sinned have passed away. Why not the cessation of the existence of the incorrigible soul? Will a clearer and better exegesis of Scripture justify this conclusion? The doctrine of purgatory throws weight on the merit of human suffering, rather than the vicarious merits of Christ. If any part of the penalty for sin is satisfied by the suffering of the offender, here or hereafter, why not the whole penalty; and, if whole or part, why the atonement at all? It is not the function of punishment to purify, else every felon out of the penitentiary would be a virtuous citizen. It is better to hold to the ancient belief that Christ descended into *Hades*, and presented Himself for acceptance to all who had died from Eden to Calvary. We are justified in the thought that the results flowing from

the consequences of sin will be the absence of joy and the presence of sorrow. All the utterances of Christ touching the future state are in general terms. His allusions to the heavenly world are sufficiently clear. His allusions to the future condition of the impenitent are no less exact; but He never indulged in those horrid pictures which afterward prevailed. Such portrayals are reflections on the exalted character of God. They have hardened the heart and increased infidelity. Calvin's and Edwards' imaginings would find no tolerance now. This happy transition is largely due to the better understanding of terms used by the sacred writers. We are approaching the "mind of the Spirit." *Hell* primarily signifies the covered or invisible place, and had no reference to a place of torment. Its popular rendering is an outrage on the laws of language. It is made to mean what never entered the minds of Old or New Testament writers. It is used to render three wholly different words—*Sheol* or *Hades*, *Tartarus*, and *Gehenna*. The *Sheol* of the Old Testament refers to the state of the departed, not the place of their abode, nor the duration of their continuance therein. *Sheol* and *hell* are as opposite as light and darkness. *Hades* is the Greek rendering of *Sheol*. "In *Hades* He lifted up His eyes, being in torment," is a rendering that dissipates groundless fear. If our translators had not been influenced by the dark shades of meaning the word *hell* was acquiring in their day, they would have made St. Paul say: "O hell, where is thy victory?" *Gehenna* implies suffering beyond the grave, and is translated *hell* twelve times in the New Testament. In the valley of Hinnom the fire was perpetual only to consume all that was thrown therein; and the worm in succession, generation after generation, continued to feed on the dead bodies of man and beast carried there, till time closed the horrid banquet. All now is changed. The fire has ceased to burn; the worm is not; it is once more a "pleasant valley." Symbols vanish, but realities endure. *Hell* may be a *ubi*, but is rather a state. The elements of heaven and of hell are within us—moral conditions lead on to their development.

THE JUNE MAGAZINES.

THE June number of HARPER'S MAGAZINE is rich in illustrations and in the extraordinary variety of its contents. Its most striking literary feature is the beginning of the series of papers on "The Old English Dramatists," by James Russell Lowell—papers which will attract universal attention as representing the maturest critical thought of their distinguished author upon a subject which was to him a life-long favorite. Another article which will elicit the especial interest of thoughtful readers is Dr. Charles Waldstein's "Funeral Orations in Stone and Word," suggested by the recent discovery of a remarkable bas-relief in the excavations on the Acropolis at Athens. This article is accompanied by several illustrations (including the frontispiece) from photographs. A minute and comprehensive description of "The Austro-Hungarian Army" is contributed by Baron Von Kuhn and appropriately illustrated by T. de Thulstrup. The popular series of Danube papers, "From the Black Forest to the Black Sea," is continued by F. D. Millet, who describes the voyage of himself and fellow-canoeists from Belgrade to the Bulgarian frontier. The paper is superbly illustrated by Mr. Millet and Alfred Parsons. Several articles have a predominant American interest. "The Birthplace of Commodore Isaac Hull," by Jane de Forest Shelton, accompanied by a portrait of the famous hero (from the painting by Stuart) and by several other illustrations, is a

valuable contribution to the history of the country. So also is the paper in which George W. Ranck, apropos of the centennial of the admission of the first Western commonwealth to the Union, tells "How Kentucky became a State." Julian Ralph, continuing his studies of the great Northwest, gives a graphic exposition of the development, resources, and prospects of "Montana: the Treasure State." The fiction of the number includes the continuation of Mary E. Wilkins's remarkable story, "Jane Field," illustrated by Smedley; the fifth part of W. D. Howells's novel, "The World of Chance;" a timely story, "Decoration Day," by Sarah Orne Jewett; and a striking short story by Katharine Pearson Woods entitled "From Leopold's Window." The poems are by Archibald Lampman, George Horton, and John Allan Wyeth. The Editor's Easy Chair and the Editor's Study are conducted as usual by George William Curtis and Charles Dudley Warner; and the Editor's Drawer is opened with a humorous Southern sketch by Thomas Nelson Page.

ROSWELL SMITH, the late President of The Century Co., is the subject of a number of contributions to the *June Century*. There is a frontispiece portrait, a poem by Edmund Gosse, a biographical sketch by the Rev. Dr. Gladden, an editorial in "Topics of the Time," with brief statements of Mr. Smith's connection with the Tract Society, the Congregational Club, and Berea College, Kentucky. The leading illustrated article of this number is by Dr. Albert Shaw, whose timely and interesting papers in other numbers on modern municipal governments will be remembered. In this paper he describes the rise of a new metropolis—Budapest. The paper is brightly and profusely illustrated by Joseph Pennell. A paper also of timely interest in view of the approaching presidential campaign is Joseph B. Bishop's article on "Early Political Caricature in America," which is illustrated by fac-similes of caricatures which were famous in their day. Some of the pictures have been made from the original drawings. "Mount Saint Elias Revisited" is a description by Israel C. Russell, of the United States Geological Survey, of his second attempt to reach the summit of that famous pinnacle. In the April number of last year he described the expedition of the previous year. This second expedition was perhaps more eventful. He describes the desolate region seen to the north from the highest point reached on the mountain, and furnishes new data as to the height of the mountain and its position with respect to the international boundary. The article is illustrated from photographs taken during the trip. In the article entitled "Land of the Living Cliff Dwellers" Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka describes his first visit among the half-civilized and wild branches of the Indians of Chihuahua. Señor Emilio Castelar's second article on Christopher Columbus describes the great explorer "In Search of a Patron." In this paper an account is given of the peripety of the King of Portugal, who, after encouraging Columbus and getting from him his views and plans, sent a private expedition to reap the fruits of Columbus's anticipated discovery; but the commander of the vessels lost courage before he had proceeded far, and returned. Columbus then left Portugal for Spain. His experiences in the latter country will form the subject of the July paper. A striking feature of this number is the beginning of a new serial called "The Chateleine of La Trinité," by Henry B. Fuller, author of the book so much praised by James Russell Lowell and Professor Norton, "The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani." Mr. Fuller's first book dealt with Italian subjects in a novel and charming manner. The scene of the present one is laid in Switzerland. Mrs. Foote's story of "The Chosen Valley" is continued in this number, as are also Kipling's "Characteristics." In the way of short stories a new writer makes his appearance in the *Century*, Will Payne, with a story entitled "A Simple Case," accompanied with pictures by E. W. Kemble. Viola Roseboro' has a story called "The Girl and the Problem," with pictures by Du Mord, and Mr. Edwards illustrates his own "Thumb-Nail Sketch." "The Clavecin, Bruges." An illustrated summer article of curious interest is a paper by the late J. B. Holder on "The Great Unknown," namely, the famous and much mooted sea-serpent. Mr. Stedman's poetical essay deals in manly fashion with the "Melancholia" of the poets. Among the poems may be specially mentioned a ballad by James Jeffrey Roche, editor of the Boston *Pilot*, on "The Fight of the Armstrong Privateer."

THE contents of SCHUBNER'S MAGAZINE for June are as follows: "On the Great Cattle Trail," frontispiece, drawn by A. Castaigne, engraved by G. H. Del'Orme; "An Ascent of Mt. Aetna," by A. F. Jaccaci, with illustrations by the author, engraving by Van Ness, E. H. Del'Orme, J. Clément, and W. Miller; "The Return of the Year," by Archibald Lampman; "The Drury Lane Boys' Club," by What It Grew From, What It Is, What We Hope It Will Be," by Frances Hodgson Burnett; "The Priceless Pearl," by John W. Chadwick; "Historic

Moments: A Memory of the Chicago Fire," by David Swing; "After Sunset," by Graham R. Tomson; "Life in New York Tenement-Houses, as Seen by a City Missionary," by William T. Elsie (the third article in the series on "The Poor in Great Cities"), with illustrations by Charles Broughton and O. H. Bacher, engraving by Peckwell and Schussler; "The Reflections of a Married Man" (Chapters IX-X, conclusion), by Robert Grant; "Cattle-Tracks of the Prairies," by Charles Moreau Harger, illustrations by A. Castaigne, engraving by Van Ness, Witte, C. I. Butler, Chadwick and E. H. Del'Orme; "Rapid Transit in Cities: II., The Solution," by Thomas Curtis Clarke, illustrations by O. H. Bacher, H. T. Schladermuller, and Hughson Hawley, engraving by Witte; "Sea-Beaches," by N. S. Shaler, illustrations by J. H. Twachtman, V. Pénard and G. Véron, engraving by C. I. Butler, McCann, E. H. Del'Orme and George Del'Orme; "The Wrecker," Chapter XXIII.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for June contains: "The Education of the Negro," W. T. Harris; "The Emerson-Thoreau Correspondence: Emerson in Europe," F. B. Sanborn; "Agrippina" Agnes Repplier; "John Austin," Janet Ross; "Chinese and Japanese Traits," Ernest Francisco Fenollosa; "Nuremberg," Julia C. R. Dorr; "An American at Home in Europe," II., William Henry Bishop; "The Witching Wren," Olive Thorn Miller; "Don Orsino," XII-XIII, F. Marion Crawford; "Have I not Learned to Live Without Thee Yet?" Louise Chandler Moulton; "The Discovery of a New Stellar System," Arthur Searle; "Private Life in Ancient Rome," II., Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge; "Whitman," "Recent Biography," "A Dictionary of Hymnology," "Comment on New Books," "The Contributors' Club."

THE complete novel in LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for June, "John Gray: a Kentucky Tale of the Olden Time," is by James Lane Allen, who gives his readers a tender historical picture of the region named, singularly apart from anything written against a Kentucky background heretofore, yet brimming with local knowledge, and rivaling in its exquisite sympathy and touch all that the author has before produced. The peaceful theme of the tale, under Mr. Allen's own marked originality of handling, only serves to enhance the interest of the story. Murat Halstead furnishes the Journalist Series with a paper on his "Early Editorial Experiences," that cannot fail to attract a reawakening interest in the series. Hon. John James Ingalls contributes an article on the West, entitled "Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way," bearing the impress of the ex-Senator's powerful style. In the Athletic Series, Frederick Weir gives a careful paper on the game of La Crosse. One of the most interesting articles in the number is Professor John Bach McMaster's historical sketch of "The Struggle for the West." "The Great American Desert," by William F. G. Shanks, gives an amount of information about the growth of the principal cities in that region which will be new and of keen interest to most readers. The department "As it Seems" is as Western in spirit as the entire number, and discusses "The West in Literature." Mr. Allen, and his novel, "John Gray." The short stories of the number are by Maurice Thompson and Patience Stapleton. The poetry is contributed by James Whitcomb Riley, Eliza Wheeler Wilcox, Susie M. Best, Robert Loveman, Carrie Blake Morgan, and St. George Best.

In variety of subject and popular treatment the contents of the *June COSMOPOLITAN* furnish an attractive standard. The magazine is leading a movement for the solution of the problem of Aerial Navigation, and Hiram S. Maxim, the great inventor and foremost authority on the subject, gives the result of some recent experiments under the title, "The Aeroplane." St. George Mivart, who for forty years has been known to the public as an ardent student and thoughtful writer upon all subjects connected with evolution, begins a series of papers in the *June COSMOPOLITAN*, in which he will set forth the conclusions he has reached in regard to the great theory of natural selection and its philosophical bearings upon the religious thought of the day. The magazine opens with a charming Philadelphia story by Janvier, with artistic illustrations from Wilson de Meza. Miss Hewitt, daughter of ex-Mayor Hewitt, gives some very soundly reasoned views regarding the "Fashions and Conterfeits in Bric-à-Brac." Miss Hewitt is a connoisseur and an authority on such subjects, and gives the result of some unusual opportunities she has enjoyed for personally inspecting the manufacture of forged articles of vertu. The fiction includes a mystical and peculiar story by Howard Pyle, the well-known illustrator, accompanied by two fine pictures of his, and "Maw," a rather striking character of slave life. Other important articles in this number are, "The Working of the Labor Department," by the Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, and "Fur Seals in Alaska." Another sonnet of James Russell Lowell's is published in this number, and a poem by Inigo Deane with a full-page illustration from the pen of Will Low. Many people will read with interest also the poem, "Mystery," by Amelia Rives. Among artists employed to illustrate this number are Kenyon Cox, H. Siddons Mowbray, Will H. Low, Wilson de Meza, Walter Crane, Howard Pyle and E. W. Kemble. Murat Halstead, Brander Matthews and Edward Everett Hale are among the other contributors.

At. M.
A. R.
Bibl. S.
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Ch. Q.
C. M. C.
C. P. R.
C. R.
C. T.
Ex. T.
Ex. T.
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At. M. E. R. African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
 A. R. Andover Review.
 Bibl. Sacr. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
 B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
 Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
 C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
 C. P. R. Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
 C. R. Charities Review.
 C. T. Christian Thought.
 Ex. Expositor.
 Ex. T. Expository Times.
 G. W. Good Words.
 H. R. Homiletic Review.
 L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
 M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
 M. H. Missionary Herald.
 Miss. R. Missionary Review.

N. H. M. Newbery House Magazine.
 N. E. & Y. R. New Englander and Yale Review.
 N. W. The New World.
 O. D. Our Day.
 O. N. T. S. Old and New Testament Student.
 P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
 P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
 P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
 R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
 R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
 S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
 S. M. Sunday Magazine.
 T. Th. The Thinker.
 T. Tr. The Treasury.
 Y. M. The Young Man.

Abelard, The Temper of, Jesse B. Thomas, HR.
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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

Apr. 20-21. Annual meeting of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Mission Society in Boston.

Apr. 21. Seventy-sixth annual meeting of the New York Female Auxiliary Bible Society.

Apr. 21-23. Fiftieth anniversary of the American Oriental Society in Washington, D. C.

Apr. 24-25. Annual convention of the Theosophical Societies of the United States in Chicago.

Apr. 25. Annual session of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England at Birmingham. In connection with this over one hundred children under fifteen years of age repeated the Shorter Catechism without a mistake.

Consecration of the Rev. Charles Edward McDonnell, D.D., Bishop of Brooklyn in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City. He was installed May 2.

Apr. 26-27. Ninth annual meeting of the McAll Association in the city of New York.

Apr. 27. Twenty-first annual meeting of the Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions of the Northwest at St. Paul, Minn.

May 2. Beginning of the sessions of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Omaha, Neb.

May 2-6. Annual meetings and conference of the (English) Sunday-School Union.

May 3. Opening of the Quadrennial Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in Philadelphia.

May 4. Annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in London.

May 3-13. Delivery of the Southworth Lectures on Congregationalism at Andover Theological Seminary. Subjects were as follows : "Spiritual Life and Ecclesiastical Polity ;" "Church and State in England ;" "The Evolution of Modern Congregationalism ;" "English Congregationalism as it is To-day ;" "The English Congregational Pulpit ;" "Recent Movements in English Congregationalism, and the Outlook for the Future."

May 5. Annual meeting of the Lutheran Publication Society in Philadelphia. Consecration of the Rev. Dr. Gabriel as Roman Catholic Bishop of Ogdensburg at Albany.

Seventy-sixth annual meeting of the American Bible Society. Union of the Baptist Theological Seminary of Chicago with the new Chicago University.

May 6. Thirty-seventh session of the Southern Convention of Baptists at Atlanta, Ga.

May 9-14. Annual meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

May 10. Twenty-seventh anniversary of the National Temperance Union of America at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City.

May 11. Sixty-seventh anniversary of the American Tract Society, held in New York.

May 12. Meeting of the Industrial Christian Alliance at Calvary Baptist Church, New York City. The object was to further the work of reclaiming "tramps" to honest labor.

May 18. Annual meeting of the United Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions at Allegheny, Pa.

May 19. Presbyterian General Assembly met at Portland, Ore.; and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Memphis, Tenn.

May 19-25. General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church at Hot Springs, Ark.

May 19-30. National anniversaries of the Baptist churches in Philadelphia, as follows: 19-21, Baptist Congress. 22-23, Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society. 23, American Baptist Historical Society. 24-26, American Baptist Missionary Union. The Anniversary and Centenary of Missions. 27-28, American Baptist Home Mission Society. 28, American Baptist Education Society. 30, American Baptist Publican Society.

By the will of Augustus Kountze, ground and \$50,000 are left for the purpose of founding a Lutheran theological seminary in Omaha. The gifts are conditional upon the raising and deposit by July 1, 1892, of \$150,000 in behalf of the General Synod.

The Rev. Samuel Curry, D.D., has been called from the Harvard Divinity School, the Newton Theological Seminary, and the School of Expression at Boston to the chair of Elocution in Yale Divinity School.

The Rev. John De Witt, D.D., has been elected to the professorship of Church History in the Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Rev. Lewis B. Paton, of East Orange, N. J., has been invited to take the chair of Old Testament Languages and Literature in Hartford Theological Seminary, vacated by Professor E. C. Bissell, who has gone to McCormick Seminary, Chicago.

The Rev. James Spurgeon is to occupy the pulpit of the Metropolitan Tabernacle for three months, and Dr. Arthur Pierson is invited to preach there for the year, beginning August next.

The Rev. Dr. Stalker has been called to succeed the late Dr. Donald Frazer in the pastorate of the Marylebone Presbyterian Church, London, and the Rev. W. J. Macdonald, of Kirkcaldy, has received the call to Regent Square Church, of which the Rev. John McNeill was pastor.

OBITUARY.

Burroughs, Rev. John C. (Baptist), D.D., LL.D., in Chicago, April 21, aged 72. Dr. Burroughs was graduated from Yale College, 1842, and from Hamilton Theological Seminary, 1846; became pastor in Chicago, 1852; declined presidency of Shurtleff College, 1855; accepted presidency of a (since defunct) Baptist University in Chicago, 1856; resigned, 1873; became assistant superintendent of public schools of Chicago, 1883.

Caspari, Carl Paul (Lutheran), Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1843), D.D. (Erlangen, 1860), in Christiania, Norway, April 11, aged 78. He was born of Jewish parents, but was baptized in 1833; became Professor of Theology at Christiania, 1847; declined calls to Rostock, 1850, and Erlangen; 1857, and has occupied the position of an evangelical student. His written works are very numerous on Old Testament exegetical themes, on patristics and church history, and on systematic theology. Since 1857 he has edited the *Theologisk Tidsskrift, for den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge*.

Cook, Rev. John (Presbyterian), D.D., LL.D., in Quebec, March 31, aged 87. He was born in Scotland; was graduated from the University of Edinburgh, being under the tuition of Dr. Chalmers; was twice moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland; was first moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion, 1875; was principal of Morrin College from its opening till his death, having retired, however, from the pastorate of St. Andrew's Church in 1883.

Muzzey, Rev. Artemas B. (Unitarian), D.D., in Cambridge, April 21, aged 90. He was graduated from Harvard College, 1824, and from the Divinity School, 1828; held pastorate at Framingham, 1830-33; became pastor in Cambridgeport, 1834; Lee Street, Cambridge, 1846; Concord, N. H., 1854, and Newburyport, 1857; retired, 1865. Since then he has resided in Cambridge, devoting himself to literature. Besides numerous essays for reviews and newspapers, he has published many volumes, the most noted of which are: "The Young Maiden;" "The Firside;" "Christ in the Will, the Heart, and the Life;" "The Blade and the Ear: Thoughts for a Young Man," and "Reminiscences and Memorials of Men of the Revolution and their Families."

Nelson, Rev. Theodore (Baptist), LL.D. (University of Chicago, 1885), at Alma, Mich., aged 52. He was graduated from Kalamazoo College, 1872; served in the pastorate at Saginaw for eight years; 1883-84 was acting President of Kalamazoo College; Professor of English Literature in State Normal School, Ypsilanti, 1884-85; became Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1885; was Professor of English Literature at Alma College, 1886-89; returned then to the pastorate whence he was called to the Presidency of Kalamazoo College.

Williams, Rt. Rev. James William (Church of England), D.D., fourth Bishop of Quebec, April 20, aged 67. He was graduated at Oxford, 1852; came to Canada, 1857; taught in the Lennoxville Grammar School till 1863, when he was elected to the bishopric.

CALENDAR.

June 6. General assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland in Dublin.

June 7-9. Meeting of the Congregational Home Missionary Society at Saratoga, N. Y.

June 7-18. Meeting of the English Primitive Methodist Conference at Norwich.

June 8-15. Meeting of the International Congregational Missionary Union at Clifton Springs.

June 12. "Children's Day."

June 17-21. Fifth convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Canada at Toronto.

June 23-30. Nineteenth annual conference of Society of Charities and Corrections at Denver, Col. Alexander Johnson, Esq., of Indianapolis, is secretary, and will give any desired information.

June 29-July 28. Reunion conference at Grindelwald, Switzerland, with the view of finding a means of evangelical interdenominational comity and united aggressive Christian work. Only evening meetings will be held, except on July 12, when there will be three sessions. Among those announced to take part are the Bishop of Ripon, Canon Body, Professor Stokes, Revs. Hay Aitken, Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. Clifford, Dr. Mackennal (who is to read a paper on "The Meaning of the Reformation from a Congregational Point of View"), Mr. R. F. Horton (who will treat of "Inspiration"), Mr. W. T. Stead and Mr. Percy Bunting.

June 30. Opening of the Chantanqua season.

July 7-10. Eleventh annual convention of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor in New York City.

July 12-26. New England Congregational Assembly.

July 12. Beginning of the sessions of the Sixteenth Summer School of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy at Prohibition Park, Staten Island.

July 14-17. General convention of the Baptist Young People's Union at Detroit, Mich.